

VII. AELII AUGUSTI LIBERTI

1401	<p>T. Aelius Aug. lib. A[---] <i>AE 1973, 39</i> [<i>t ae</i>]LIUS T F PAL [---] / T AELI AUG LIB A[--- et] ULPIAE MARCEL[iinae filius?] / HABUIT VIVAR[ium et curam?] SUPRA IUMENTA [caesaris] / MILITAVIT ꝑ LEG[---] / COH III HASTAT P[rior v ann] / XXXVI M [---]</p>	Rome: theatr. Marcelli A B R
	<p>*3: 'vivarium' = 'game park, animal reserve'. A freeborn citizen son of a freedman of Antoninus Pius and an Ulpia could not have been born before 138. If it can be assumed that he lived for 36 years, reaching the rank of centurion in the army and a post in charge of pack animals, this inscription must date from the last years of M. Aurelius or even the reign of Commodus. His mother Ulpia Marcellina, with a <i>nomen</i> from two reigns earlier than that of her husband and a <i>cognomen</i> that is rarely servile, was most probably freeborn, whether or not the latter had been manumitted at the time of their marriage.</p>	
1402	<p>T. Aelius [Aug. lib.] A[---] <i>Miscellanea greca e romana</i> 11, 1987, 239-41 = AE 1987, 100 D[m] / T T AELII [aug lib] / FELIX ET A[---] / MATRI DULC[issimae et] / LIB LIBERTAB[usque] / POSTERISQUE [eorum] / ET AUREL URBANAЕ FELI[cis san]/CTISSIMAE ET LIB LIBERTA[busque poste]/RISQ EORUM *2: the reading 'TT' is confirmed from the photo in MGR. It is plausible that both Felix and A[---] are <i>Augusti liberti</i>. The name of their mother, the dedicand, either has to be squeezed into the end of line 3 (or 4?) or curiously, appears not to have been recorded. 7-9: in the later addition of a second dedicand, Aurelia Urbana Feli[cis (uxor)], the naming of Felix as her (still living) spouse is to distinguish him from A[---], who can be presumed to be his brother.</p>	Rome C D
1403	<p>Acindynus Aug.lib. 6.8609 D M / ACINDYNO / AUG LIB AB EPIST / LAT CLISTHENES / FRATRI OPTIMO / ET AELIA FLORENTINA / FILIO DULCISSIMO / BENEMERENTI / FECERUNT *Dated as Hadrianic by Boulvert (1) 253 n.374, presumably on the basis that the <i>nomen</i> 'Aelius' is implied by that of his mother Aelia Florentina. Should the same apply to his brother Clisthenes, or is he of slave status? The inscription could easily be later or even Trajanic. <i>Ab epistulis Latinis</i> and <i>ab epistulis Graecis</i> appear as occupational titles from the end of the 1st C.</p>	Rome C D I
1404	<p>P. Aelius Aug. lib. Achillaeus 6.4857 D M / IULIA EPICHR / FECIT / SIBI ET P AELIO / AUG LIB ACHIL/LAEO ET LIBERTIS / LIBERTABUSQUE / SUIS POSTERISQ / EORUM</p>	Rome A
1405	<p>P. A(elius) Acamazon (Aug. lib.) 6.8982 M AUR AMIN/NES F P A / ACMAZON/TI FRATRI /PEDAGOGI(!) PUER KAP AFR *2: 'f(ecit) P. A(elio)'(?); 5: 'p(a)edagogo puer(orum) kap(itis) Afr(icae)'. [If the reading in line 2 'P(ublio) A(elio)' stands, and 'p(a)edagogi' in line 5 is to be taken as nominative plural, it is implied that Aurelius Aminnes is also an imperial freedman without status indication. In that case it is to be accepted that two brothers, one manumitted at least 23 years later than the other, both held posts as teachers in the <i>paedagogium</i> on the Caelian.] For absence of status indication, cf. (1138): Ulpius Agathonicus and 6.1052 = [1962a]:Eumenianus.</p>	Rome D I

	On imperial <i>paedagogi</i> and the <i>ad Caput Africae</i> , see Mohler 264ff.; cf. Boulvert (1) 297 nn. 222-5.	
1406	Aelius Aug. lib. Advena 6.5308 D M / AELI AUG LIB / ADVENAE / QUI VIXIT / ANNIS XLII / AELIA AUG LIB / EXTRICATA CONIU/GI BENE MERENTI	Rome A H
1407	T. Aelius Aug. lib. Aelianus 6.8518 D M / T AELIUS AUG LIB AELIANUS / A FRUMENTO CUB CAESAR N STAT I / FOLIA[e] CHRESIME COIUGI / KARISSIMAE ET DULCISSIMAE BENE MERENTI / CUM QUI (!) VIXI ANNIS XX / SINE ULLA QUAERELLA ET SIBI ET / FILIS CHRESIMO AUG LIB ADIUTOR OFFICI COMMENTARI KAS ET / APHRODISIO CAESARIS N VERNE ADIUTORI OFFICI TABULARI KAS ET / T AELIO ZOSIMO ET T AELIO EUTYCHETI ET / T AELIO ERASTO CONLIBERTIS T AELIO A[r]TEMI[dor]O ET / T AELIO ERASTO IUNIORI ET T AELIO ACA[–]O ET / FOLIO ALCIDE ET FOLIO EUTYCHETI ET FOLIAE TERTIAE ET / AELIAE FORTUNATAE ET AELIAE NICE LIB LIBERTABU[s] / UTRIUSQUE SEXUS POSTERISQUE EORUM / HOC MONUMENTUM HEREDEM NON SEQUETUR / SI QUIS AUTEM BOLVERIT VENDERE SIVE DONARE INFER[et] / FISCO CAES N HS I M N ITEM COLLEGIO PONTIFICUM HS IV[m n]	Rome A B F G H I M
	*3: 'a frumento cub(iculariorum) Caesar(is) n(ostri) stat(ionis) I'; on the <i>cubicularii</i> and their location in two <i>stationes</i> , see Boulvert (1) 246-7. 8: 'offici commentari' kas(transis)' Boulvert (1) 172 n.548; perhaps better 'offici commentari(orum) kas(transum)'. The singular 'commentarium' is rare in this context; I can find only 11.3614: 'commentarium cottidianum', and <i>EE</i> 8, p.229: 'commentarium ludorum saecularium' (cf. <i>DE</i> 2.537; <i>RE</i> 4.726, 759-68). In the absence of a full-scale study of the usage of the word 'officium', the supplement 'commentari(ensum)' is improbable, despite the use from the mid-2 nd C. of 'commentariensis' for 'a commentarii'. 9: 'offici tabulari kas(transis)', cf.6.8529: Hermes [Aug.] lib. a tabulario castr(ensi)'; see Boulvert (1) 171-2 & n.539; Weaver 248 & n.2.	
	This 'extended household', i.e. the 15 persons who are named as having burial access to the funeral monument of the freedman of Antoninus Pius, T. Aelius Aelianus, consists of: (1) Aelianus himself and his 'nuclear' family, i.e. his spouse Folia Chresime and their two children, Chresimus (an Imperial freedman without <i>nomen</i> , whose <i>cognomen</i> is derived from his mother Chresime) and Aphrodisius (an Imperial slave <i>verna</i> , i.e. born in the Imperial household). Both children hold junior posts as <i>adiutores</i> in the <i>familia castrensis</i> , the palace administrative service in Rome. Folia Chresime, with a non-imperial <i>nomen</i> , may be of slave origin, and her slaveborn children subsequently acquired by the Imperial household (see Rawson 78-81) or perhaps even herself originally born within the Imperial household and, after the birth of her children, later transferred and manumitted outside it. If she were freeborn, in the post-Hadrianic period under a revised provision of the SC <i>Claudianum</i> she should have had the same status as her children. For the status problems of wives and children in this category, see Weaver 156-69; Boulvert (2) 307-10.	
	(2) Eleven others, all with <i>nomina</i> the same as those of Aelius Aelianus and Folia Chresime and evidently their former slaves. The term 'conlibertis' in line 11 following the names of the first three of these, T. Aelius Zosimus, T. Aelius Eutyches and T. Aelius Erastus, does not necessarily indicate that they too are Imperial freedmen with Aelius Aelianus, but more probably that they are fellow-freedmen with the eight names that follow. Note that the names of the eight freedmen of either <i>nomen</i> come before those of the three freedwomen. One can only speculate on the ages at which all these were freed, including T. Aelius Erastus iunior, while observing that Aphrodisius, the younger son of the head of	

	<p>the household, with a post in the Imperial service, is the only one in the whole group to remain a slave.</p> <p>See further, P. Weaver, 'Reconstructing lower-class families', in <i>Childhood, Class and Kin in the Roman World</i>, ed. Suzanne Dixon (Routledge, London 2001), 110-13.</p>	
1408	<p>P. Aelius Augg. lib. Africanus 6.29152</p> <p>See 1161 (Ulpius Charito) + n. On the general question of <i>Augustorum liberti</i>, and in particular those manumitted before 161, see Chantraine 225ff. and <i>Historia</i> 24, 1975, 603ff. (dismissing the possibility of joint-manumission before this date); Weaver 58ff., 66ff.; G Fabre, <i>REA</i> 75, 1973, 111-25; Boulvert (2) 61ff.</p>	Rome E
1409	<p>P. Aeli[us Aug. lib.] Agath[---] 6.37765</p> <p>P AELI[us aug lib] / AGATH[---] / PRAEPO[situs] / SYMPH[onia]/CORUM [se vivo?] / MONU[mentum f]</p> <p>*'praepositus symphoniacorum': 'in charge of the musicians/choristers, choirmaster' perhaps.</p>	Rome I
1410	<p>[Ag]athas Aug. lib. (1) 8.14551 = EE 7.232</p> <p>[deo sancto / aet]ERNO AUGUSTO / [---]STIA PHIL[e / ag]ATHAE AUG LIB PRO[c] / M N</p> <p>*5: 'm(armorum) n(ovorum)' C/L ed.; 'N(umidicorum)' Mommsen.</p>	Simitthus: Afr.Proco s. A I L
	<p>(2) 8.14571-6</p> <p>IMP ANTONINI AUG [pii d] / N [---] OF CER[ti] / STLOGA ET SEVERO C[os] / SUB CURA AGATHA[e I] / DXXV (reversed)</p> <p>*14572: ...SUB CURA AGATHAE [aug?] / LIR(!)</p> <p>14573: ...SUB CURA AGATHA[e ---]</p> <p>14574: ...SUB CURA AGATHAE L</p> <p>14575: ...SUB CURA AGATH[ae I]</p> <p>14576: ...SUB CURA AGATHAE L</p>	ibid. AD 141 F I N P
	<p>(3) 8.14577</p> <p>IMP ANTONINI AUG PI D / [n] LXIV [---] OF AL / STLOGA ET SEVERO COS / SUB CURA AGATIAE(!) LIB / B[---]S / [-] RO[-]</p> <p>*Inscriptions from the quarries of Numidic marble at Simitthus in north-west Africa Proconsularis.</p>	ibid. AD 141 F I N P
1411	<p>T. Aelius Aug. lib. Agathemer (1) 6.5310</p> <p>D M / AELIAE VENERIAE / T AELIUS AUG LIB AGATHEMER / CONIUGI SANCTISSIMAE FECIT</p> <p>*'Agathemer', rather than 'Agathemarus', is the normal spelling; cf. Solin 4-6; Vidman 214.</p>	Rome: vin. Cod. 2 A
1412	<p>P. Ael(ius) Aug. lib. Agathemerus (2) 6.8612</p> <p>D M / P AEL AUG / LIB AGATHE/MERI ADIUT / AB EPIST LAT / IUVENIS IN/FELICISSIMI</p>	Rome h I
1413	<p>P. Aelius Agathemer Aug. lib. (3) 6.10085 = D 1770</p> <p>D M / P AELIUS AGATHEMER / AUG LIB MEDICUS RATIO/NIS SUMMI CHORAGI / FECIT SIBI ET AELIAE IORTE / CONIUGI BENE MERENTI ET / LIBERTIS LIBERTABUSQUE SUIS / POSTERISQUE EORUM</p>	Rome A I

	*'summum choragium' refers to stage scenery and machinery required for the Imperial theatrical performances and the gladiatorial shows for which a <i>medicus</i> would be particularly appropriate. The department dates from the time of Domitian. See Hirschfeld 293-5; Boulvert (1) 250-1 + nn.	
1414	P. Aelius Aug. lib. Agathemer (4) 6.37925 = AE 1911, 188 P AELIUS AUG LIB AGATHEMER / F<e>CIT SIBI ET VAENULEIAE / MODERATAE CONIUGI SUAE / B M ET POSTERISQUE SUIS	Rome A
1415	Aug. lib. P. Aelius Agathemer (5) AE 1988, 176 AUG LIB / P AELIUS AGATHEMER / FECIT SIBI ET AELIAE HEL/PIDI LIBERTAE SUAE ET / LIBERTIS LIBERTABUS / POSTERISQUE EORUM / SEVIR AUG ET QQ / IN FRONT P XXIII IN AGR P XL *1: The position of the status indication 'Aug. lib.' at the head of the inscription is very unusual. In this case it is prominently and carefully placed either side of an ivy decoration, in letters of the same size as the rest of the dedication by Agathemer to himself (sibi) and to his freedwoman (and presumably consort) Aelia Helpis (1577). The order of his personal and local honours—'sevir Aug.' and 'q(uin)q(uennalis)'—after the concluding formula 'libertis libertabus posterisque eorum' is also exceptional. All this is unlikely to be a stone mason's error or an afterthought. For examples of exceptional placement of Imperial status indications, see Chantraine 281 n.1; Weaver ZPE 122, 1998, 236-7. On the position of the status indication in general, see Chantraine 281-92; Weaver 76-8.	Ostia: I G K M
1416	T. Aelius Aug. lib. Agathopus 6.5554 = D 1547 = T AELIO AUG LIB / AGATHOPO PROC XX / HEREDIT SULPICTIA / THALLUSA CONIUGI / BENE MERENTI ET / HEREDES / FECERUNT *PIR ² A 132. On the <i>vicesima hereditatium</i> , see Hirschfeld 96-105, and esp. Eck 125-45.	Rome A f I
1417	P. Aelius Aug. lib. Agathyrsus (1) 6.10637 [--] / HIC SITAE / P AELIUS AUG LIB / AGATHYRSUS SEN / MARITUS FECIT *4: 'sen(ior)'; cf. 2864 (Oceanus), 2842a (Menander). Chantraine 385 misprints <i>cognomen</i> as 'Agathopus'.	Rome a M
1418	Agathyrsus (2) Aug.lib. (1) 14.4090.14 EX PREDIS QUINTANENSIB / AGATHYRSUS AUG LIB (2) 15.461 EX PR AGAT QUINTAN / PONT ET ATIL / COS (3) 15.462 (a) [ex predis] QUINTAN[esib / ag]ATHURS AUG[lib / -] F (b,c) EX PREDIS QUINTANESIB / AGATHYRSUS AUG LIB / F Cf. 15.463: id. (4) 15.464 T OCTAVENI GRATI EX P AGAT / AUG L APR ET PAET / COS *1: 'ex p(redis)'	nr Rome:I I P Rome AD 135 I N P Rome I P Rome AD 123 I N P
	(5) 15.465 (a) EX PR AGAT AUG L Q POMP Ianuar / PAETIN ET APRONIAN / COS (b) EX PR AGAT AUG L Q / POMP Ianuar PAET / ET APR ONIANO COS © AE 1981, 639 = Gallia 39, 1981, p. 539	Ostia: I AD 123 I N P

	EX PR AGAT AUG L Q / POMP IAN PAETINO ET APRONIANO COS *1: 'Aug(ustae)' AE (ed.).	LaRoque-brussanne:Gall. Narb. AD 123
	(6) 15.466 (a) EX PR AGATURSI(!) AUG LIB / VETERE ET GAL / COS (b) EX PR AGATHYRSI AUG LIB / VETER ET GAL / COS (7) 15.467 EX PR AGATYRSI(!) AUG L / MAX ET CON / COS (8) 15.468 EX PR AGATHYRSI AUG LIB / GLAB ET HOMUL / COS	Rome AD 150 Rome: AD 151 I Rome : AD152
	(9) 15.469 EX F AGATHYRSI AUG LIB (10) 15.470 AGATHYRS / AUG LIB	Ostia: I Tusculum : I
	*Already prior to 123 Agathyrsus was part-owner of one of the most prolific brick-producing estates near Rome, the <i>praedia Quintanensis</i> , which he shared with the consular M. Annius Verus (cos. ord. III, 126), who in 121 was consul for the second time and also <i>praefectus urbi</i> and became the grandfather of the future brick magnate and emperor, M. Aurelius. Agathyrsus was most probably a freedman of Trajan, although he is often thought not to have been an Imperial freedman at all but a long-lived freedman of an <i>Augusta</i> , Trajan's wife Pompeia Plotina, who died about the same year 121/122; cf. Dressel (1891: 132), Helen (1975: 146), AE 1981, 639; Bloch (1947: 209; but cf. 1948: 113 no. 578); Chantraine (1967: 45 n. 16); Weaver (1972: 66 n. 4); Boulvert (1974: 205 n. 39). This is based on the probable identification of him with the Agathyrsus Aug. lib. (1063) who put up a double dedication to Plotina Augusta at Aricia (14 2161a-b). That association, however, is not conclusive that he was <i>her</i> freedman: he does not use her <i>nomen</i> 'Pompeius' as do all the other identifiable freedmen of Plotina (6.1878 = ILS 1912; 3082 = IG 14.331; AE 1958, 184.) but always the standard 'Aug. lib.'/Aug. I.' for <i>Augusti liberti</i> . Q. Pomponius Ianuarius, <i>officinator</i> in (5) above has no obvious connexion with the freedmen of Plotina, who have the <i>praenomen</i> 'L(ucius)' derived from her father.	
	Whatever his influence at court, Agathyrsus is a special case. He is the only freedman on the brick stamps to use the 'ex praedis + (possessive) genitive' formula—see (1)- (8) above—which is used exclusively for property ownership, and which, even when (rarely) followed by an adjective—e.g. 'ex praedis Quintanensis' in (1)-(3) above—differs significantly in meaning from 'ex figlinis + adjective' which expresses place of manufacture. See the careful discussion of this distinction by Helen (1975: 62-71) and his comment (<i>ibid.</i> 71) on (3). Though a freedman, he remained an owner of the <i>praedia Quintanensis</i> for a record thirty years or more, for the first dozen years or so until 135 with his fellow <i>dominus</i> M. Annius Verus and in the process sharing or taking over from him an <i>officinator</i> , Q. Pomponius Ianuarius (15.465 = S 578 = LSO 426 & 15.808 = LSO 676). The two <i>domini</i> , although of such greatly differing status, may also have collaborated even more closely, with each specialising in different sizes of bricks, the larger bipedales and sesquipedales being produced by Agathyrsus, and the smaller bessales by Annius Verus (see Bloch (1947) 209, Steinby (1975) 80, Setälä (1977) 53).	
	This kind of association cannot be matched by any other Imperial freedman nor can the length of his ownership tenure. His dated stamp types are variously	

	<p>spread over the years 123, 135, 150, 151 and 152. They use the formula 'ex praedis + genitive case' for naming the <i>dominus</i> which was first introduced in the second century, except for the undated (1), (3) and (9) which retains 'ex f(iglinis)'. Two binominal stamps, (4) & (5), put the matter beyond doubt by also naming an <i>officinator</i>, as usual in the simple genitive with 'opus (doliare)' understood: (4) = LSO 425: '(opus) T. Octaveni Grati, ex p(raedis) Agat(hyrsi) Aug(usti) I(iberti), Apr(oniano) et Paet(ino) cos' (AD 123); (5) = LSO 426: 'ex pr(aedis) Agat(hyrsi) Aug(usti) I., (opus) Q. Pomp(oni) Ianuar(i)', also dated to 123. A possible third case is L. Cl(odius) Beryllus (S 118), see Steinby (1975) 80.</p> <p>For the context of Imperial freedmen in the brick industry, see Weaver, <i>ZPE</i> 122, 1998, 238-46.</p>	
1419	<p>P. Aelius Aug. lib. Agylaeus <i>AE</i> 1902, 187 = <i>Terracina</i> 54 P AELIUS AUG / LIB AGYLAEUS / PROCUR L P D D D D * 2: l(ocum) p(ublice) d(onatum) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) d(edicavit) ?</p>	Tarracina : I I M
1420	<p>Π. Αἴλιος Ἀλκιβιάδης ἀπελεύθερος Αὐτοκράτορος Ἀδριανοῦ (1) <i>AE</i> 1924, 103 = <i>SEG</i> 2. 529 'Αλκιβιάδης ἀπελεύθερος Αὐτοκράτορος 'Αδριανοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ κοιτῶνος χαριστήριον νύμφαις</p> <p>(2) <i>SEG</i>.1.441 Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Τραϊανὸν 'Αδριανὸν Σεβαστὸν 'Αλκιβιάδης ἀπελεύθερος καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ κοιτῶνος</p> <p>(3) <i>LBW</i> 1652f Π Αἴλιον Ἀλκι[βιάδη]ν τὸν ἐπὶ τ[οῦ] κοιτῶνοι[ς] Αὐτοκράτορος Αδριαν[οῦ] Καίσαρος Σεβαστ[οῦ] Π Αἴλιος Πλουταγόρου νίος Ἐρμόδωρος ἀρετῆς ἔ[νε]κα τῆ[ς] εἰς τὴν [πατρίδα -]</p>	Centum Cellae: VII I L Nysa: Asia I N Tralles: Asia F I K
	<p>(4) <i>CIG</i>.2947 = <i>D</i> 8857 Φυλὴ Καισάρης Πό Αἴλιον 'Αλκιβιάδην ἐπὶ κοιτῶνος Σεβ φιλόπατριν καὶ εὐεργέτην τῆς πόλεως ψηφισαμένου καὶ ἐπιμεληθέντος Τιβ Κλ Ζωσίμου Οὐαλεριανοῦ γραμματέως τῆς πόλεως</p> <p>(5) <i>CIG</i>.2948 Φυλὴ 'Οκταβία [']Α]πολλωνίς [Π] Αἴλιον 'Α[λ]κιβιά[δη] ἐπὶ κοιτῶνος Σεβ φιλόπατριν καὶ εὐεργέτην τῆς πόλεως ψαφισαμένου καὶ ἐπιμεληθέντ Τιβ Κλ Ζω[σίμου] Οὐαλε[ριανοῦ] γραμμάτεως τῆς πόλεως</p>	Nysa: Asia F I K Nysa: Asia F I K
	<p>*<i>PIR</i>¹, A 106 = <i>PIR</i>², A 134; <i>RE</i> 1 (Aelius 19). This Alcibiades was well enough known in Asia as a <i>cubiculo</i> under Hadrian not to need the Imperial status indication in (3), (4) & (5). Unlikely to be the same as the P. Aelius Alcibiades in <i>LBW</i> 1666 (Mastaura, Asia): [Πόπλιον] Αἴλιον ['Αλκι]βιάδην [νε]ώτερον ὁ νίος ['Αρτε]μίδωρος.</p>	Mastaura : Asia B
1421	<p>P. Aelius Aug. lib. Alexander (1) 2.486 = <i>D</i> 1492 DMS / IULIAE OPTATAE / AN XXIII / P AELIUS AUG LIB / ALEXANDER TAB / PROVINCIAE LUSIT / CONIUGI DULCISSIMAE / FECIT *Along with Ulpius Gresianus (1237) and P. Aelius Vitalis (1) (1790), who also held the same post in Lusitania, Alexander is among the earliest recorded <i>tabularii provinciae</i>. This reflects Hadrian's comprehensive reorganisation of the</p>	Emerita: Lusitania A H I M

	administration of taxation in Italy and the provinces, see Pflaum (1) 60f., Boulvert (1) 287ff. + nn. On the senior clerical grade <i>tabularius provinciae</i> : Boulvert (1) 115-17 + nn. 137-152; Weaver 245-8.	
1422	T. A(elius) Alexander (2) Aug. I. 6.22789 D M / MYRINE C / T A ALEXANDRO AUG L / CONIUGI PIENTISSMO / BENE MERENTI / FECIT ET SIBI 2: 'Myrine C(aesaris) (serva)'. The name of the dedicating wife, an Imperial slave, unusually intervenes between the funerary formula 'd(is) m(anibus)' and that of the dedicand, her freedman husband.	Rome A
1423	[A]le[xande]r (3) Aug. lib. 8.7039 = p. 1848 = D 1437 = <i>ILA</i> g.2.665 M CLAUDIO Q F / QUIR RESTITUTO / PROC AUG DIOECE/SEOS REGIONIS HA/DRUMETINAE ET THE/VESTINAE ET LUDI / MATUTINI ET AD PU/TANDAS RATIONES / SYRIAECIVITATIUM / TRIB LEG VII GEMI/NAE PRAEF COH I / GAETULORUM / [a]LE[xander] AUG LIB TABUL / D D *Dated to the reign of Antoninus Pius by the African procuratorship of the equestrian M. Claudius Restitutus (Pflaum, CP No. 158 , pp. 379-85; cf. p. 1094), after he had been <i>proc. ludi matutini</i> in Rome (CP p. 1028).	Cirta: Numidia F IN
1424	Amaracus Aug. lib. 6.978 IMP CAESARI HADRIANO / AUG N COLLIG(!) AELIANORUM / SANCTISSIMO MINERVAE SALUI(!) / AMARACUS AUG LIB EX TESTAMEN D D *3: 'salu[t]i'?	Rome L N Q
1425	T. Aelius Augustorum lib. Amemptus 6.8731 = D 1816 D M S / T AElius AUGUSTORUM LIB A/MEMPTUS AB ARGENTO SCAENI/CO FECIT SE VIVO ET POMPONIAE / CLEOPATRAE CONIUGI SUAE ET T AE/LIO AUG LIB NICETI FRATRI SUO ET / LIB LIBERTABUSQ POSTERISQ EO/RUM ET ULPPIO ALYPO SUO *A freedman of Antoninus who was responsible for 'silverware' (stage props?) in the <i>ratio scaenicorum</i> , the Imperial department responsible for public theatrical performances. See Boulvert (1) 176-7). As with other T. Aelii Augg. liberti, the 'Augustorum' in his status indication could signify that he served under more than one emperor in successive reigns (in this case Antoninus and M.Aurelius-L.Verus). Many <i>Augusti liberti</i> , whether in the administrative service or not, would have been in a similar position, the great majority of whom, however, did not record or have recorded a plurality of emperors in their status indication. Alternatively, Amemptus may simply have assimilated his status indication to the form of status indication prevailing under the first <i>joint-emperors</i> , M.Aurelius and L.Verus (161-169) at the time he put up his inscription. In either explanation it does not represent the circumstances prevailing at the actual time of his manumission. The normal status indication used in his dedication to his deceased imperial freedman brother, T. Aelius Aug(usti) lib(ertus) Nices, presumably suggests that the latter did not survive the reign of Antoninus. For the arguments, see Chantraine 247ff., and esp. <i>Historia</i> 24, 1975, 603ff., against Weaver 67ff.	Rome A D F I
1426	T. Ael(ius) Amiantus Aug. lib. 3.287 = 6776 = <i>MAMA</i> 1.21 D M / VALERIAE CLEO/PATRAE FECIT / T AEL AMIANTUS AUG / LIB PROC COIU/GI SU<a>E BENE MERENTI CUM / QUA VIXIT ANNIS / X EX PECULIO IP/S{E}IUS SCRIPSIT / VALERIUS AN/DRONICUS LIB *See (707) (?T. Flavius) Amiantus Aug. lib. <i>a commentari(i)s</i> from Synnada for the improbable suggestion (Ramsay, <i>Roman Power in Asia Minor</i> 261) that the	Laodicea Combusta : Galatia Ag HI

	two Amianti are the same. A father- son connexion is possible but quite uncertain.	
1427	<p>T. Aelius Aminias Aug. [I]ib. 6.8908 = p 3891 = D 7810 D M / T AELIUS AMINIAS / AUG IIB(!) MEDICUS / AURICULARIUS FE/CIT SIBI ET AEII/AE(!) LEXI CONIUGI / ET FI LS IIBUSQUE(!) / POSTERISQUE / EORUM *1: scr. 'Amyntas' Dessau, but for 'Aminias' as <i>cognomen</i>, see Solin 720 (who includes 6.35274 = 708), Vidman 217; 7: 'fi(lis) l(ibertis) li(berta)busque' CIL, Dessau.</p>	Rome A b
1428	<p>Αἴλιος Ἀμφιγέθης Σεβαστ[οῦ] ἀπελεύθερος P. Berol. 21652 = SB 12.11043 = ChLA 11.466; cf. W. Eck, ZPE 123, 1998, ... [—]. ν ὑπάτ[ων Γλαβρίωνος] καὶ Ὄμούλλου ἐν Καισαρίαι ἐν τῷ ναῷ ἀξιοῦντος Οὐαλερίου Σερήνου οὐετραψυῦ ἀπὸ κώμης Μεάσων τῆς Περέας παραδεχθῆναι εἰς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἐπακουσάντων [συν] ἀναγορείας γενομένης ἐπὶ Κοῖντιανοῦ Αἴλιος Ἀμφιγέθης ἐπίτροπος Σεβαστ<οῦ> ἀπελεύθερος εἰπεν "ἐν τῇ νομῇ εἰ·" εἰπεν δὲ ο Σερήνος "εἰμί [ναι]". Ἀμφιγέθης εἰπεν "[οὐ]δὲ εῖς σε ἔκβαλεν. με]νεῖς ἐν τῇ νομῇ καὶ ἐκθήσο]μαι ἐν τῷ ταβλαρίῳ καὶ [-ε] ἐὰν εὑρεθῇ [ται] ἡ μᾶτριξ [-τῶν οὐετρανῶν [σεται] ἡ παρασημίωσ[ις] Κοῖντιανοῦ σημ<ε>ιώσομαι /{σοι} ὄνόματί σου δεῖ με σημ<ε>ιώσασθαι". Postea respondebit mihi per lib[ellum] *Supplements as SB loc. cit.</p>	Caesarea : Syria Palestina: ?AD152 IKNR
	An unusual document in this catalogue, a papyrus from Caesarea in Palestine records part of the verbal transcript of a hearing in a temple at Caesarea in AD 154 into the claim by the veteran Valerius Serenus from the village of Meason in the Peraea, across the Jordan, to be included in the official list of veterans being awarded possession of land. According to Eck (art. cit.) this possibly refers to land confiscated after the Bar Kochba revolt of AD 132-5. The hearing involves two Imperial officials, Quintianus, whose rank and title is not stated, and Aelius Amphigethes, who is an Imperial freedman of Antoninus Pius or quite possibly of Hadrian, if he took the usual ten or more years after manumission to reach the senior freedman rank of <i>procurator</i> .	
	<p>The administrative role of the freedman procurator Amphigethes is clear. He guarantees Serenus possession of the land he occupies and, following a check of the records, offers to note his name in the official register of veterans. The rank and function of Quintianus, however, who has been assumed to be a hitherto unknown senatorial legate, governor of Syria Palaestina (following J. Rea, ZPE 26, 1977, 217 ff., cf. AE 1976, 689), has been clarified by the recent discovery of an inscription from the <i>praetorium</i> at Caesarea, the financial administrative centre of the province, to be published by W. Eck in the forthcoming report of the excavations at Caesarea edited by J. Patrich. (I am grateful to Werner Eck for this information and for additional arguments mentioned below). The new inscription reads:</p> <p>'[--?Calp]urnio Quin/[?tian]o proc(uratori) Aug(usti) / [prov]inc(iae) S[y]r(iae) Pal(aestinae) / [----]'.</p> <p>The reconstruction of the name together with his title <i>procurator Augusti</i>, the location and likely date of the inscription establish with high probability that he is to be identified with the Quintianus of the papyrus, who must then be the equestrian procurator of the province of Syria Palaestina. Quintianus and Amphigethes fit into the normal pattern by this period of an equestrian-freedman procuratorial pair in charge of financial administration in a province, the freedman being the deputy and subordinate of the equestrian. (For further examples and discussion of this system which Pflaum termed 'collégialité'</p>	

	inérale', see Boulvert (1), esp. 392-419; Weaver, 233-4, 267-81; <i>Historia</i> 14, 1965, 460-9.)	
	The rank of Quintianus as senatorial legate and governor is in any case open to doubt on grounds of both personal nomenclature and administrative procedure, as pointed out by Eck. In an administrative document of this kind it would be unusual to refer to the provincial governor by his bare <i>cognomen</i> with no indication of his status or office, unless previously mentioned. This could not simply be taken for granted. (Even the references in <i>NT, Acts of the Apostles</i> 23.24-26.30 to Felix (435) and (Porcius) Festus, in a similarly verbal context in their confrontation with Paul, make it clear that successive governors of the province are involved.) The slave or freedman official minuting the hearing in the temple in Caesarea appears to assume a much closer working relationship between Amphigethes and his superior than would be the case if an Imperial freedman and a senatorial governor were involved. The management structure of the Imperial administration did not normally work in that way.	
	Finally, Rea argued (art. cit.) that the ajnagoreiva (public announcement of the land grants?) over which Quintianus presided could have taken place at some time in the past. This latter is in itself not improbable, if the proclamation was made at the time of discharge of the veterans (and was not simply the confirmation of title to existing occupants). But it is unlikely to have taken place years earlier, as thought possible by Rea, as the petitioner, the veteran Serenus, was already (recently?) in occupation of his land and simply wanted confirmation from the departmental records of his right to it. (On the aftermath of the Bar Kochba Revolt and the redistribution of land in the Transjordanian Peraea, see Eck, art cit. and forthcoming in <i>Scripta Classica Israelica</i> 1999.	
1429	T. Aelius Aug. lib. Ampliatus (1) 14.505 D M / T AELIO AUG LIB / AMPLIATO FECIT / PONTEIA CASTULA / COIUGI DULCISSIMO	Ostia: I A
1430	T. Aelius Aug. lib. Ampliatus (2) 14.3637 = <i>I.lt</i> 4. 1.174 DIS MANIBUS / AELIAE T F PERPETUAE / QUAE VIXIT ANNIS III / MENS VII DIEB XXIII / T AELIUS AUG LIB / AMPLIATUS / TABULARIUS / VILLAE TIBURTIS ET / FLAVIA APHRODISIA / PARENTES FILIAE / DULCISSIMAE *The freeborn daughter Aelia Perpetua was born after her father's manumission. Her mother could also be freeborn, despite her Imperial <i>nomen</i> .	Tibur: I A B h I
1431	Aelius Aug. lib. Anatellon 14.2973 EXEMPL DECR Q Q [q] CLUVIO SILANO / Q SER F L SEPTIMIO VALERIANO Q F / POSTULANTE CLAUDIO MARONE UTI LOCUS / AD STATUAM PONENDAM [Aelio Mabbidiano] OPTIMAE MEMORIAE / VIRO QUONDAM FILIO AEI AUG LIB ANATELLONTIS / PII AMANTISSIMI REIPUBLICAE NOSTRAE [detur] / PLACUIT ET IN HONOREM ANATELLONTIS / SEMPER ET UBIQUE PRO COMMODIS REI P [nostra agentis et] / IN MEMORIAM AEI MABBIDIANI OP[timo quondam viro] / LOCUM AD STATUAM PONENDAM FILIO ELECTIONI IPSIUS DARI *The text is defective—'laborat caecis hiatibus; de iusta restitutione desperandum' <i>CIL</i> . 1: '?exempl(um) decr(eti decurionum) q(uin)q(uennalibus) [q(uinto)] Cluvio Silano Q(uinti) Ser(gia?) f(ilio), L(ucio) Septimio Valerio Q(uinti) f(ilio); 10: 'election[e]'.	Praenest e: I B F K
1432	T. Aurelius Anicetus Aug. lib. AE 1953, 64 D M / T AURELIO / ANICETO AUG LIB / AURIFICI / AURE{ FECIT}LIA / DAPHNIS BEN MER / ITUM CUM AMBITUM EI PRAE/STARI *5-6: 'Aurelia Daphnis ben(e) mer(enti) fecit'; 7: 'item (= 'right of access') cum ambitu{m?}'.	Rome A I M

	<p>One of a group of seven freedmen of Antoninus Pius with the <i>nomen</i> 'Aurelius', viz. 1432, 1438, 1493, 1496, 1732, 1754 (dated to AD 152), 1751; cf. 1653 (T. Aelius Aurelius Niger). They were manumitted before his adoption by Hadrian in 138 when he was T. Aurelius Fulvius Boionius Arrius Antoninus and their inscriptions date from after his accession. On this group, see Weaver 26 + n. 4; Boulvert (2) 65 n. 383.</p>	
1433	<p>P. Ae[lius] Aug. liber[tus] Anteros (1) 6.10640 P AE[lio] / AUG LIBER[to] / ANTEROTI / SUESTILIA L F / AELIANA PARENTI *The freeborn daughter's <i>cognomen</i> (but not her <i>nomen</i>) appears to be derived from her father. If she was therefore born after his manumission, why does she not also have his <i>nomen</i>? Her <i>nomen</i>, Suestilia, is uncommon. It is either derived from her (freeborn?) mother or from a previous husband of her mother, in which case 'parens' = 'stepfather'?</p>	Rome B
1434	<p>P. Ael(ius) Aug. lib. Anteros (2) AE 1922, 132 P AEL AUG / LIB / ANTEROTI ET / AELIAE TYCHE / PARENTIBYS (!) / P AEL VIATOR / FIL FECIT</p>	Gerasa: Arabia A B
1435	<p>T. Aelius Anthus (1) Aug. lib. 6.9007 D M / T AELIUS ANTHUS AUG LIB / PROC MONIMENTUM TERRA / IMAGINUM SIBI ET FILIS SUIS / LIBERTIS LIBERTABUSQUE POSTE/RI[s]Q EORUM FECIT *3: 'proc(urator) monument(or)um [statuar(um)?]'; cf. Mommsen, <i>C/L</i> ad loc.; <i>RE</i> 1. (Aelius 22); Boulvert <i>EAI</i> 235 + n. 213.</p>	Rome b I
1436	<p>Aelius Anthus (2) Aug. lib. 6.9045 [--/-]ENE / AUG N VERNA FECIT SIBI / ET AELIO ANTHO AUG LIB / P P STRUCTORUM CONIUGI BENE / MERENTI CUM QUO / VIXIT ANNIS XX *5: 'p(rae)p(osito)'. The rank of <i>praepositus</i> belongs to the domestic (not the administrative or clerical) hierarchy of the Palatine establishment (Weaver 228; Boulvert (1) 239ff). In this case Anthus is in charge of the emperor's dining room staff who specialised in food display, carving etc. In terms of social and occupational status, note that, although this couple had lived together for 20 years and thus both must at least be approaching 40 years of age, [--]ene, the surviving wife of Anthus, who dedicates the epitaph, has not yet been manumitted.</p>	Rome A H I
1437	<p>[-] Aeli[us A]ug. lib. Anthus (3) 6.34230a [-] AELI[us / a]UG LIB / ANTHUS / CONIUG / BENE MER / FECIT</p>	Rome a
1438	<p>T. Aurelius Aug. lib. Aphrodisius 14.2104 = D 1475; cf. <i>PIR</i>² A 1451 T AURELIO / AUG LIB / APHRODISIO / PROC AUG / A RATIONIBUS / S P Q L / DEDIC Q VARINIO Q F / MAEC LAEVIANO AED *5: 'S(enatus) p(opulus)q(ue) L(anuvinus)' He was manumitted by Antoninus Pius before his adoption by Hadrian in 138. On the <i>nomen</i> 'Aurelius', see 1432: T. Aurelius Anicetus, above. On the rare use of 'Augusti' in the occupational title of freedman procurators, see Chantraine, <i>Historia</i> 24, 1975, 613-16; Weaver 278</p>	Lanuvium :I F I K

1439	<p>Appianus (1) Aug. lib. 13.1808 = D 1454 C IUL C FIL QUIR CELSO / A LIBELLIS ET CENSIBUS / PROC PROVINCIA LUGUD ET AQUITANIC / PROC PATRIMONI PROC XX HEREDITAT ROMA[e] / PROC NEASPOLEOS ET MAUSOLEI ALEXANDRIAE PROC / XX HEREDITAT PER PROVINCIAS NARBONENS / ET AQUITANICAM DILECTATORI PER AQUITANICA[e]/ XI POPULOS CURATORI VIAE LIGNARIAE TRIUMPHAL[is] / APPIANUS AUG LIB TABUL RATION FERRAR / C IUL C FIL QUIR / CELSO MAXIMIANO / ADLECTO ANNORUM QUATTUOR / IN AMPLISSIMUM ORDINEM / AB IMP T AELIO HADRIANO / ANTONINO AUG PIO P P *9: 'tabul(arius) ration(is) ferrar(iarum)', the office of the state-owned iron mines in Gaul. C. Iulius Celsus was equestrian procurator of the provinces of Lugdunensis and Aquitania c. AD 135-145 and held the combined Palatine posts of a <i>libellis</i> and a <i>censibus</i> early in the reign of Antoninus Pius (Pflaum, CP 1053, 1021-2); for his full career, see CP no. 106bis (pp. 253-7, 969-72).</p>	Lugdunu m:Gallia Lugdun. AD 135- 145 F I N
1440	<p>[—] Aug.lib. Appianu[s] (2) 14.100 = Thylander B 317 [pro salute imp caes t aeli] / HADRIANI AN[tonini] / AUG PII P P ET M [aeli aureli] / CAESARIS CAN[—] / ANAPTOTERIUM [—] / AUG LIB APPIANU[s nomine] / SUO ET ULPIAE M[—] / FILIAE SUAE [—] / CIVIBUS GA[—] / DONUM DE[dit] *4: perhaps 'can[delabrum et]'; 5: 'anaptotarium', meaning unknown (OLD 1.126), [sacred vessel?].</p>	Ostia: I AD 139- 161 B K N
1441	<p>P. Aelius Aug. lib. Aprio 3.8263 D M / P AELIO AUG LIB / APRIONI AUG COL / RAT HSE VIX AN / LXV / CONSLA VALERIA / [—] *3-4: 'Aug(ustali). col(oniae). Rat(iariae)' in Moesia Superior.. On <i>Augustales</i> in the Fam. Caes. see Boulvert, DF 126-8.</p>	Timacum Minus : Moesia Sup A H I?
1442	<p>L. Aelius Apulus Aug. lib. 6.10644 L AELIUS AP/ULUS AUG / LIB FECIT O/NESIMO FILI/O VERN CAE/SAR MEREN/TI *One of a group of six Aelii Aug. lib. with <i>praenomen</i> 'L(ucius)'. These were manumitted either (1) by L. Verus between 138 and 161, when he was L. Aelius Aurelius Commodus, prior to his becoming joint-Augustus with Marcus Aurelius (161-169), when he took the name L. Aurelius Augustus Verus; or (2) by the emperor L. Aurelius Commodus, who between 190 and 192 took the name L. Aelius Aurelius Commodus Augustus. In this case (1) is more likely, given the much longer timespan available for manumission, but the inscription would date from 161 or later, in a manner similar to that of the T. Aurelii Aug. lib. under Hadrian and Antoninus, noted above (1335, 1341). Cf. Weaver 26f. and Charnaine 63f. Note the unusually clumsy line divisions throughout.</p>	Rome B
1443	<p>Aelius Aug. lib. Arganthon 6.2997 D M / AEI AUG LIB ARGANTHONIS / AT[h]EN[a]EUS FIRMUS CORNICU/LARIUS SUPPRAEF VIGIL FRATRI / B M FECIT ET SIBI ET SUIS PO/STERISQ EOR *4: 'supraef(ecti) vigil(um)'. The rank and file of the large fire-brigade force of <i>vigiles</i> in the city of Rome were originally freedmen, but by the time of Antoninus Pius freeborn <i>milites</i> had long been serving there. The brother of the Imperial freedman Arganthon, as <i>cornicularius subpraefecti</i>, was senior staff officer of the equestrian deputy commander, and thus third in order of senioity among all the <i>principales</i> of the vigiles. He is thus most likely to be freeborn, as his</p>	Rome D I R

	name, Athenaeus Firmus, suggests and may be a half-brother of Arganthon. [11.5693 records the promotion of a <i>cornicularius</i> of the prefect of the <i>vigiles</i> directly to centurion of the <i>legio II Traiana</i> under Antoninus.]	
1444	<p>Aridelus (freedman of Imperial household) Fronto, <i>Epist. ad M. Caes.</i> 5.37 (Nab. p.87)</p> <p>'Aridelus iste, qui tibi litteras meas reddit, a pueritia me curavit a studio perdicum usque ad seria officia. libertus vester est; procurabit vobis industrie; est enim homo frugi et sobrius et acer et diligens. petit nunc procurationem ex forma suo loco ac iusto tempore. faveto ei, Domine, quod poteris. si formam non cognosces hominis, ubi ad nomen Arideli ventum fuerit, memento a me tibi Aridelum commendatum.</p> <p>*<i>PIR</i>¹ A 856 = <i>PIR</i>², A 1043. Note the variation in the use of the second person between the singular 'tibi' (twice) and the plural ('vester', 'vobis'). If the letter addressed to 'M. Caesar' is dated <i>before</i> he became joint-emperor with L. Verus in 161, it is difficult to assume that Aridelus was jointly manumitted by M. Aurelius Caesar and Antoninus Pius; 'libertus vester' may be loosely used referring to the Imperial household in a general way, when he was strictly manumitted by Antoninus. If the letter is dated <i>after</i> the accession of M. Aurelius and L. Verus, he would be either their joint-freedman (as Boulvert (2) 62), or one of the T. Aelii Augustorum liberti who lived on into the period of joint rule after 161 (Weaver 66f.; Boulvert (2) 61-3, 71-2). It is clear, however, from the procuratorial post that Aridelus is seeking that he is now of some seniority, presumably in the administrative career of the emperor's service, and therefore he was manumitted some years earlier than the date of the letter. Given that Fronto died c.166, it is probable that this took place before 161.</p>	?AD 138-161 I
	The phrase 'ex forma suo loco ac iusto tempore' has been taken as evidence of a regulated system of promotion and an established hierarchy of posts in the freedman ranks of the Imperial service on the basis of objective criteria. This has to be interpreted also in the context of a letter of recommendation from a <i>suffragator</i> in which traditionally very subjective criteria were dominant; cf. Pliny, <i>Epist.</i> 10.85f. (See esp. Pflaum, <i>Proc. Eq.</i> 198f.; Boulvert, <i>DF</i> 120ff., 162ff.; Weaver 268f.)	
1445	<p>P. Aelius Asclepiacus Aug. lib. 6.10958 = D 8065</p> <p>D M / SACRUM / DEANAE ET / MEMORIAE / AELIAE / PROCULAE / P AELIUS ASCLEPIACUS / AUG LIB / ET ULPIA PRISCILLA FILIAE / DULCISSIMAE FECERUNT</p>	Rome A B L
1446	<p>T. Αἴλιος Ἀσκληπιάδης Σεβαστοῦ ἀπελεύθερος <i>IGRR</i>.1.182 = <i>IG</i> 14.1330 = Moretti 282</p> <p>Θ K T Αἴλιος Ἀσκληπιάδης Σεβαστοῦ ἀπελεύθερος ιατρὸς λουδ ματ χειρ * <i>medicus ludi matutini</i>, where especially the <i>bestiarii</i> and <i>venatores</i> fought.</p>	Rome I
1447	<p>T. Aelius Aug. lib. Astius 6.10648</p> <p>D M / T AELIO AUG LIB / ASTIO ET / FLAVIAE DEUTERAE / CLAUDIA VOLUPTAS / PARENTIBUS B M / FECIT / IN F P VI IN AG P III</p> <p>Note that the daughter's <i>nomen</i> differs from that of both her parents. Cf. [1685]* on the three children of Antonia Rhodine.</p>	Rome A B
1448	<p>T. Aelius Ath[—] 6.8437</p> <p>D [m] / T AELIO ATHE[— ad] / STATIONEM HER[editatium] / COMMENTARESI [—] / ET FLAVIA PR[—] / FECERUNT BEN[—] / LIBERTABUSQU[e —]</p> <p>*Listed as a freedman in Solin (1) 271, (2) 267; highly probably an <i>Augusti libertus</i>. Space is available on the missing right-hand side to restore 'Athe[nao</p>	Rome A I

	<p>Aug. lib. ad]'; cf. line 4 where a full name is missing, and 6 where e.g. 'ben[emerenti et libertis]' needs supplying.</p> <p>For Imperial freedmen on the staff of the central office of the <i>XX hereditatium</i> in Rome and the term 'statio': M. Ulpius Cadmus (1079), M. Aurelius Alexander (1780); for a <i>commentariis XX hereditatium</i>: P. Aelius Victor (1706), Felix (2728), both at Tarraco in Spain. Imperial officials are well established in these roles by the time of Antoninus Pius. See Hirschfeld 101-5, Boulvert (1) 287-9, Eck 129-39.</p>	
1449	<p>Atimetus (Aug.) lib. 2.4089 SILVANO AUG / SACRUM / PRO SALUTE IMP / CAES HADRIANI / ANTONINI AUG PII N / ET LIBERORUM EIUS / ATIMETUS LIB / TABUL P H C *8: 'tabul(arius) p(rovinciae) H(ispaniae) C(terioris)' On <i>tabularii provinciae</i>, see Boulvert (1) 115-17 + nn., 126; Weaver 245-9.</p>	Tarraco : Hisp. Cit. I L N
1450	<p>P. Aelius Barbarus Augustorum libertus 6.9089 = 33761 = D 9244 D A HECATE / P AElius BARBANUS(!) AUGUSTORUM LIBERTUS / VILLICUS HUIUS LOCI D D P *1: 'd(eae) A(ugustae)'; 2: 'Barbarus' Dessau; 3: 'd(ono) d(edit) p(osuit)' ? The cognomen 'Barbanus' is very rare; this is the only example listed in Kajanto (224), whereas 'Barbarus' (as in Dessau) is common. On the status indication <i>Augustorum libertus</i> of freedmen of Hadrian, see Chantraine 225ff., 238ff., <i>Historia</i> 24, 1975, 603ff.; Weaver 58ff., 66ff.; Boulvert (2) 61ff. A <i>vilicus</i>, who had charge of an estate (<i>villa</i>) and supervised its slave personnel, was himself almost always a slave. His manumission, like that of <i>dispensatores</i>, would be expected to be later than that of other slaves. The likelihood of Barbarus having survived at least 23 years or more after manumission by Hadrian into the joint reign of M. Aurelius and M. Verus, is thus reduced. Although his service was domestic or unofficial, his manumission jointly by Hadrian and the Sabina Augusta after 128, is disputed, on the ground that an <i>Augustus</i> and an <i>Augusta</i> could not have jointly-owned property of any kind in this period (see references above).</p>	Rome I L
1451	<p>P. Aelius Bithus Aug. lib. 6.10652 D M / P AEli / BITHI / AUG LIB</p>	Rome
1452	<p>P. Aelius Aug. I. Blastus AE 1981, 273 D M / P AEli AUG L / BLASTI / LIBERTI ET HEREDES / PATRONO / B M</p>	Tarentum : II f g
1453	<p>Aelia A.I. Caletych[e] AE 1980, 967 D M S BENEDICTA CAES[aris] N / VERNA V A XVIII H S E / AELIA A L CALETYCH[e] MA/TER FILIAE AM[a]N/TISSIMAE ET SIBI P Q S F *5: 'p(osteris)q(ue) s(uis) f(ecit)'. As the mother of a Caesaris verna, Aelia Caletyche must be an Imperial freedwoman, despite the unprecedented abbreviation 'A(ugusti) I(iberta)'; cf. Chantraine Even the abbreviation 'I(iberta)' is rare by the mid-2nd century. Freedwomen in the Fam. Caes. very frequently omit the Imperial status indication altogether.</p>	Caesarea : Maur.Caes. B H
1454	<p>P. Aelius Aug. lib. Callinicus 6.657 P AElius AUG LIB / SILVANO SAN/CTO / CALLINICUS TRITIC / D D *3: 'tritic(um?)', wheat.</p>	Rome I(?) L

1455	P. Aelius Aug. lib. Cal(l)ippus	6.8930 = 33754a	AELIA CHRESTE FECIT SIBI / ET P AELIO AUG LIB TROPHIMO COIUGI / ITEM T AELIO AUG LIB KARICO / NOMENCLATORI FILIO SUO ET / DROMONI ITEM CRESCENTI CAES N ET / LIBERTIS LIBERTABUS POSTERISQUE / EORUM CUSTODIAM MONUMENTI / INHABITANDI CAUSA FECIT AELIA / CHRESTE ET POST EXCESSUM SUUM IS / QUI SUPRA SCRIPTI SUNT HABITARE / IURIS CAUSA RELIQUIARUM SUORUM / ET EUARISTI FRATRIS IN FRONTE PEDES XXXX IN AGRO PEDES XX ITEM / IURIS SIT P AELI AUG LIB CALIPPI ALUMNI / ITEM CHARITUDIS RELIQUIAS PONENDAS	Rome C D E
1456	Callistianus (1) Aug. lib. Sabinianus	6.28789	D M / L VIBIO CHARIXENO / ALUMNO CALLISTIANUS / AUG LIB SABINIANUS / FECIT SIBI ET SUIS LIB / LIBERTABUSQ POSTERISQ / EORUM	Rome B S
1457	Callistianus (2) Augg. lib.	AE 1974, 159	D M / AELIAE ARTE/MISIAE FILIAE / CALLISTIANUS / AUGG LIB ET AURELIA EUTHENIA PARENTES	Casale di Sabone: I A B N
1458	Publius Aelius Augg. libertus Callistion	6.10657	D M / PUBLIUS AELIUS / AUGG LIBERTUS CAL/LISTION SE VIVUS / FECIT SIBI ET SUIS / ET LIBERTIS LIBERTA/BUSQUE POSTERISQUE / EORUM See 1457 above, and on the general question of <i>Augustorum liberti</i> prior to AD 161, see commentary and references at 1548: P. Aelius Felix (9).	Rome N

1459	Callistus (1) (P. Aeli Aug. lib. Pisti) collibertus 10.549 = <i>I.It.1.1.191</i> See 1690: P. Aelius Pistus.	Salernum : I D
1460	Callistus (2) lib. <i>ILA</i> g. 1.3991 = AE 1922, 18 NUM / AUG / IMP CAESARI TRAIANO HA[driano aug—] / C SESTIO PANTHERA PRO[c aug—] / CALLISTUS LIB TAB AEDIC MARM COLUM[n—] *5: ‘tab(ularius) aedic(ulam) marm(oream) colum[nis ornatam ... fecit?]. C. Sestius Panthera was equestrian <i>procurator regionis Hipponiensis</i> under Hadrian (Pflaum (2) p.1094).	Hippo Regius: Africa F I K N
1461	Aelia Aug. lib. Campestra q(uae).et Bona 8.12937 D M S AELIA AUG LIB / CAMPESTRA Q / ET BONA PIA / VIX AN LXII / H S E 2: ‘q(uae) et Bona’, a so-called ‘attached’ <i>supernomen</i> , which follows the ordinary <i>cognomen</i> and is linked with it by ‘qui/quae et’, ‘sive’ and later ‘signo’. This practice, which occurs mostly in epitaphs belonging to the lower classes, is found increasingly from the mid-2 nd century. In the Fam. Caes. see on Iulia Cleopatra quae et Lezbia, wife of (Iulius) Malchio (163), and on M. Upius Nicephorus (1213*); cf. Weaver, <i>Antichthon</i> 5, 1971, 77-84. On <i>supernomina</i> in general, see esp. Kajanto (2).	Carthago: Africa f H M S
1462	P. Aelius Caricus (P. Aeli Aug. lib. Patrocli lib.) 6.10659 See 1676.	Rome G
1463	T. Aelius Aug. lib. Caricus (1) 6.13025 D M M AURELIO AUG LIB ARISTONI ET TERENT[iae helpidi] / CONIUGI EIUS QUAE VIXIT CUM EO AN XVI VIDUA ST[—] / DIEBUS XV T AELIUS AUG LIB CARICUS POST M[—] / TERENTIAE HELPIDIS CONIUGIS INCOMPARA[bilis cum] / QUA VIXIT AN IIII M VII D X ET AURELIA M F E[— et] / TERENTIA ARISTE ET M AURELIUS M F ARI[isto] / HUNC TITULUM POSVERUNT ET M AUREL AUG LIB [—] / ET M AUR AUG LIB NICEPHORUS SE VIVI CON[paraverunt] / SARCOPHAGUM CORPUS EORUM PONER[e licebit] *2: ‘st[etit a...m...] C/L; ‘st[olata]’ in view of her having three children?; 3: ‘post(erior) m[aritus]’ C/L; ‘post m[ortem]’? Terentia Helpis married (1) M. Aurelius Ariston, a freedman of M. Aurelius, by whom she had Terentia Ariste (born while Ariston was still a slave), Aurelia E[—] and Aurelius Aristo, both freeborn with filiation; and after a (short?) period of widowhood, (2) Aelius Caricus, a presumably older freedman of Antoninus, who with his three step-children put up the epitaph. The relationship of the two further freedmen of M. Aurelius to the family is not clear, although they appear to have had right of burial in the monument.	Rome A B E H
1464	T. Aelius Aug. lib. Karicus (2) 6.8930 = 33754a See 1358: P. Aelius Callippus.	Rome C D F I
1465	P. Aelius Carpophorus Aug. lib. 6.10660 D M / P AELIO CAR/POPHORO AUG / LIB LUCCEIA / FLORA CON/IUGI BENE / MERENTI / FECIT	Rome A

1466	T. Aelius Aug. lib. Carpus 3.14179 = IGRR 3 675 = PIR2, A 155 T AELIO AUG LIB CARPO / PROC PROVINC LYCIAE AELIA / CALE MARITO OPTIMO AC / PIENTISSIMO MONUMENTUM / ET STATUAM DE SUO FECIT Θεοῖς Δαίμοσιν Τίτ Αἰλιον Σεβ ἀπελ Κάρπον ἐπίτροπον ἐπαρχίας Λυκίας Αἰλία Κάλη ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθωτ[άτῳ] καὶ [ε]ὺσεβεστάτῳ μνήμης χάριν τὸ ἡρῷον σὺν τῷ ἀνδριάντι ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων κατεσκεύασα	Patara: Lycia/ Pamphyl. A I M
	*Not a regional procurator of Imperial estates in Lycia, but, following the division of the ducenarian procuratorial administration of Galatia-Lycia-Pamphylia under Antoninus into two centenarian equestrian posts (Pflaum (1) 68), Carpus was assistant provincial procurator of Lycia-Pamphylia, possibly under M. Aurelius (Boulvert (1) 299 n. 235; Weaver 276-7).	
1467	T. Aelius Aug. lib. Castrensis (1) AE 1980, 359 T AELIO / AUG LIB / CASTRENSI / EX TESTAMENTO	Cures Sabini: IV
1468	(Aelius) Castrensis (2) (Aeliae Aug.lib. Cupitae collibertus) 8.12939 See 1391	Carthago: Africa F
1469	T. Ael(ius) Aug. lib. Celsus 10.526 = I.It.1.1.171 T AEL AUG LIB / CELSO / CUBICULARIO / EUTYCHES / FILIUS	Salernum : I B I
1470	Aelia Cervola [Aug.] lib. 6.8977 D M / HERMETI AU/G LIB PRAE<ce>PT/ORI PUERORUM / CAES N AELIA / CERVOLA / CONIUGI B M D [m] / AEL[ia ce]/RVOL[a aug] / LIB OR[natrix] / PUER[orum] / CAE[s n] / QUI[—] *Aelia Cervola's status indication is confidently restored as that of an imperial freedwoman; the <i>nomen</i> of her husband Hermes Aug. lib. is given as 'Aelius', if it is assumed to have been omitted as being the same as hers. They both have positions in the elite school for young slaves in the imperial household, he as teacher, she as hairdresser or equivalent; cf. 1585: (Aelius) Hermes (4). . On the imperial <i>paedagogium Palatinum</i> , see Mohler 264ff.; Boulvert (1) 177-8 + nn. 593-604.	Rome A I
1470a	? Κέστος βοηθὸς τη̄ς ἐπιτροπη̄ς BGU 4.1047.III.10 ... *Boulvert (1) 113 n.126.	Egypt (Hadrian)
1471	P. A{e}l(ius) Chre. Aug. lib. 8.5275 = 17461 = I.Alg 1.131 D M S / P AFL(!) CHRE / AUG LIB VIX / AN LXXI V P F / H S E *2: the most likely complements are 'Chre(simus)' or 'Chre(stus)'; 4: 'v(ir) p(ius) f(idelis)'?	nr.Hippo: Africa H M

1472	Chresimus Aug. lib. 6.8518 See 1310 (T. Aelius Aelianus).	Rome C D F I M
1473	P. Aelius Aug. lib. Chrysanthus (1) 6.8771 = D 1748 D M / P AEI AUG LIB / CHRYSANTHI Q F / A FRUM CUB / PARTHENOPAEUS AB / AEG ET EPITERPES / COLLEG B M F *3-4: 'q(ui) f(uit) a frum(ento) cub(iculariorum)', cf. 1310 (T. Aelius Aelianus); 5-6: 'ab aeg(ris) (cubiculariorum)', cf. 1226 (M. Ulpius Stephanus); 7: 'colleg(ae)'. Parthenopaeus and Epiterpes are Imperial slaves. On the arrangements for the supply of food and medical services to the extensive palace <i>cubicularii</i> (and presumably other domestic staff there), see Boulvert (1) 241-7.	Rome F I
1474	P. Ael(ius) Augg. lib. Chrysanthus (2) 6.10876 D M / AELIAE DIONYSIADIS CONIUGIS KARISSI[mae] / P AEL AUGG LIB CHRYSANTHUS FECIT ET SIB[i et libertis] / LIBERTABUSQ POSTERISQUE EORUM[——] / ITEM HORTULUM MACERIA CINTUM CUM MONUMENTIS ET DIETA MEMBRORUM V ET ATRIOLO QUAE SUNT [—— dolus malus] / ABESTO NEC ADITUM IN PORTIONE DIMIDIA FISCUM HABERE ET SI QUIS EORUM VENDERE AUT DONARE VOLUISSET TUNC FISCO DOMI[norum nostrorum—m(ilia) n(ummorum) / inferto. hoc monumentum] / EXT HEREDEM NON SEQUETUR *On the relative frequency of <i>Aelii Augustorum liberti</i> , see 1457 (Callistianus [2]). . On the general question of <i>Augustorum liberti</i> prior to AD 161, see commentary and references at 1548: P. Aelius Felix (9).	Rome A K
1475	Aelius [A]ug. lib. [Chr]ysanthus (3) AE 1950, 171 AEILO / [a]UG LIB / [chr]YSANTHO / [ad]IUTOR A RATION / [fel]IX TYCHICUS / [rep]OSTUS ONESIMUS / [str]ATONICUS EPICTETUS / [phil?]IPPUS SECUNDUS / LIBERTI *Although the post of Chrysanthus was junior clerical, his eight freedmen here listed are one of the largest groups of <i>lib. liberti</i> known in the Fam. Caes. Early manumission was not unusual in this category (Weaver 207-11) and these are possibly Junian Latins. Chrysanthus himself was likely to have been freed comparatively recently, given the age-data on <i>adiutores</i> in the central administrative departments such as the <i>a rationibus</i> (see Weaver 238-40).	Buthrotum: Epirus G I
1476	Κίλιξ Καίσαρος ἀπελεύθερος IGRR 3. 1056. 3.b. 3-4 = OG/S. 629. 90 καμήλου ὃς κενὸς εἰσαχθῆ πράξει δηνάριον α' καθώς Κίλιξ Καίσαρος ἀπελεύθερος ἔπραξεν *A Greek section of a bilingual customs law local to Palmyra, <i>lex portus a senatu Palmyrenorum lata</i> (IGRR 3, pp. 389-405) imposing a duty of one denarius for each unloaded camel entering the city. The law uses the authority of a previous ruling by Cilix an Imperial freedman on a tarif originally imposed by Corbulo, governor of Syria. For the position of Cilix as deputy procurator to the equestrian provincial procurator of Syria and not as <i>praepositus</i> in charge of a Roman customs post at Palmyra, see Boulvert (1) 399f., cf. De Laet 360.	Palmyra: Syria AD 137 I M N
1477	Aelius Cladeus . 6.8618 = D 1672 = D M / CTESIAE AELII CLA/DEI A MEMORIA / ET CUBICULO AUG / SER *PIR ² A 160; RE 1.491 (Aelius 38). On the occasional cumulation of the senior posts of a <i>cubiculo</i> and of a <i>memoria</i> from the 2 nd century, see Boulvert (1) 245 n. 315, 284-5.	Rome G I

1478	<p>P. Aelius Aug. lib. Cladus 6.10666</p> <p>D M / P AELIO AUG LIB CLADO / MARITO B M ET P AELIO AUG / LIB MARIENSI FILIO DULCIS/SIMO QUI VIXIT ANN XX ME/NS XI DIEB XV LUCIL[i]A CHRU/SOPOLIS ET P AELIUS STEPHAN/US FECER SIBI ET LIBERTIS LIBER/TABUSQUE SUIS POSTERISQUE E/ORUM</p> <p>*Father and son, Cladus and Mariensis, were both manumitted by Hadrian, the latter freed very early at the age of 20 or earlier (no occupation is recorded). He was probably born during the reign of Trajan while his father was still a slave. His mother, Lucilia Chrusopolis, was therefore either a slave herself at the time and Mariensis was somehow transferred to the possession of the emperor, or she was free and her son became an Imperial slave under the s.c. <i>Claudianum</i>. P. Aelius Stephanus (line 7), if a second son of the couple, was freeborn after both parents acquired free status.</p>	Rome A B E H
1479	<p>P. Ael(ius) Cleruchus Aug. lib. 14.3433 = 6.10667</p> <p>D M / P AEL CLERUCHO / AUG LIB FL RHODO/PE CONIUGI BENE / MERENTI FECIT</p>	Praenest e: I /Rome A
1480	<p>[Αἰλιος] Κλωδίανὸς Σεβαστοῦ ἀπελεύθερος]</p> <p>SEG 31, 1981, 1281</p> <p>†- Αἰλιος] Κλωδίανὸς Σεβαστοῦ ἀπελεύθερος Αἰλίω Νομ[--] ἀπελευθέρῳ τειμιοτάτῳ μηνήμης χάριν</p> <p>*The nomen of Clodianus is inferred to be 'Aelius' on the assumption that the deceased Aelius Nom[—] is his freedman. The latter cannot be an Aug. <i>libertus</i> as there is insufficient space in line 4 for the full <i>cognomen</i> of the latter plus the missing Σεβαστοῦ (however abbreviated) of the Imperial status indication.</p>	Antiochia: Galatia G
1481	<p>P. Aelius Aug. I. Constans 6.8732 = D 1811</p> <p>DIS MANIB / GAMUS AUG L PRAEP AURI / ESCARI FECIT SIBI ET / FLAVIAE TYCHE CONIUGI / BENE MERENTI ET LIBERTIS / LIBERTABUSQUE SUIS POSTERISQUE / EORUM ET / FELICI CAES N VERNAE POSTERISQUE / ET P AELIO AUG L CONSTANTI FILIO</p> <p>*2: 'praep(ositus) auri escari', head of the palace staff responsible for the gold dining service. On the style of the palace at the time of Domitian and the hierarchy of its domestic staff, see Boulvert (1) 237-41; Weaver 228-9.</p> <p>As distinct from the P. Aelius Aug. lib. father and son combination, Cladus and Mariensis (1383 above), who were both manumitted by Hadrian, in this case the <i>nomen</i> of the father Gamus is not stated. It is not necessarily 'Aelius', inferred from that of his son Constans, who was freed by Hadrian at an age also not stated. It is most likely that Gamus Aug. I. (1228) was freed by Trajan or even Domitian. Constans was slave-born before his mother Flavia Tyche was manumitted, presumably by Domitian. This is easily possible if he was not himself freed till or close to the regular age of 30 (Weaver 154-5).</p>	Rome C E
1482	<p>T. Aelius Aug. lib. Cosmu[s] NSc 1920, 282</p> <p>[d]M / [a]ELIAE SECUN[dae] / T AELIUS AUG / LIB COSMU[s] / CONIUGI I[n]/COMPARABI[li] / DE SE B M / FECIT</p>	Rome A
1483	<p>Crescens (1) lib. (1) D 8717 = Bruzza, p.172 no. 1</p> <p>EX M N CAESARIS N R D A SUB CUR C CERIALIS PR / SUBSEQ SERGIO LONGO ✓ LEG XXII PRIMIG PROB / CRESCENTE LIB N VIII N VIII / CXXX N VIII</p> <p>*1: 'ex m(etallis) n(ovis) Caesaris n(ostris) r(ationis) d(omus) A(ugustae) sub</p>	Rome F I

	<p>cur(a) C. Cerialis pr(ocuratore)'; 2: 'subseq(uente) ... prob(ante)'; 3,4: 'n(umero)'.</p> <p>(2) D 8718 = Bruzza, p.173 no. 4 AUGURIN COS / L CXXCVI R SUB CURA MINICI / SANCTI PROC AUG / PR CRESCENTE LIB / N XLII *2: 'l(oco) r(ecognitum)' Dessau; 4: 'pr(obante)'.</p> <p>Quarry marks on two blocks of marble from Carystus, Euboea.</p>	Rome AD 132 F I N
1484	<p>P. Aelius Aug. lib. Crescens (2) RAC 3, 1926, p.103 D M / P AElius AUG LIB / CRESCENS A VESTE / CUBUCLARIA FECIT / SIBI ET FLAVIAE MUSAE / CONIUGI POSTERISQ / EORUM *Cf. T. Flavius Caes(?) (734) <i>a veste cubicular(iorum)</i>. On the organisation and special services for the numerous palace <i>cubicularii</i>, see Boulvert (1) 246-7.</p>	Rome A I
1485	<p>T. Aelius Crispinus Aug. lib. 6.8417 D M / T AElius CRISPIN/US AUG LIB ATIUTOR (!) / A RATIONIBUS QUI / VIXIT ANNOS XXII *Note the early age at manumission. One of only three examples of a freedman clerical official under the age of 25; <i>adiutores a rationibus</i> are not found before the early 2nd century. On these and on the comparatively rare early manumission in general in the Fam. Caes. see Weaver 69, 101 n.1, 103 n.1, 238, 262.</p>	Rome H I
1486	<p>Aelia Aug. lib. Cupita 8.12939 DIS MAN SACR / AElia AUG LIB CUPI/TA PIA VIXIT ANN L / HSE / CASTRENSIS COLLIBERTUS / MERENTI FECIT</p>	Carthago: Africa F H M
1486a	<p>T. Aelius Cyriacus Aug. lib. 6.8777; cf. p.3463 = T. Aelius Tyriacus (See 1780).</p>	
1487	<p>P. Aelius Augusti libert. Dares 6.10673 P AElius AUGUSTI LIBERT / DARES FECIT SIBI ET / RODANO FRATRI SUO / AUGUSTI LIBERTO / LIBERTIS LIBERTABUSQUE / POSTERISQUE EORUM / HOC CUBICULUM HUIC / MONUMENTO CEDET</p>	Rome D M
1488	<p>[T.] Aelius Aug. [lib.] Datus 8.2339 IMP CAES / [t] AElio HA/DRIANO AN/TONINO AUG / PIO DIVI HADRI/ANI FIL DIVI / NERVAE PRONE/POT[i] PONT MA/XIMO TR P X / CONS IIII P P / [t] AElius AUG / [lib] DATUS / ILP SUA PEC / FEC<i>T IDEMQ / DED *9: 'ilp' [meaning? 'i(n) l(oco) p(ublico)?']</p>	nr. Timgad: Numidia AD 147 i K N
1489	<p>T. Aelius Aug. lib. Demetrius (1) (1) 14.508 = IPO A 1 T AElius AUG LIB DEMETRIUS / ET CLAUDIA MARINA FECERUNT / T AElio DEMETRIO FILIO PIENTIS/SIMO QUI VIX ANN XIII M VIII D VII ET / C CORNELIUS MARINUS FRATRI ET LIBE/RIS SUIS LIBERTIS LIBERTABUSQUE POS/TERISQ EORUM (2) 14.509 VIX ANN / XIII M IX / D VII (3) 14.510 ILLE EGO DEMETRIUS VERO / LIBRATUS ABUNDE INGRES/SUS VITAM</p>	Ostia: I A B H Ostia: I b H Ostia: I B H

	NON LONGI TEMPO RIS ICTU INFERNIS NUMINI/BUS DEDI ET POST IMAGINE // MORTIS HAEC MIHI TEMPLA / PLACENT MERITO ET PRAE/MIA LUCIS PUBERTAS NITI/DA STUDIAQUE ABUNDANTIA / VITAE ET REVERENS PLENE // MORTE GRAVATUS OBI / MULTA QUIDEM BONITATE GE/RENS ET VERNULA VERNIS / NEC NIMIE COMVIVIA RA/PUIT DUM GLORIA VITAE // SPERNABAM RATE INFERNAS / SUBITO DELATUS AD UMBRAS / BIS SEPTEM PLACIDOS ANN / ET ADHUC FORMATUS IN UNUM / AUTUMNUS MEDIUS OCTOBRI // MENSE REFERTUS LAESIT / ANIMAM DULCEM ET SPEM / CERTISSIMA FREGIT / ILLA TAMEN SANCTA ET FOR/MATA VERECUNDIA SAEPE / AMITTIT TANTALI ASPECTU / ET TIMOREM SISYPHI AB/EST IXION UMBRAEQ ET / FURIAE METUS ET IN SE/CESSUM NUMINIS INFER//NAE DOMUS OFFICIOSUS TAN/DEM MINISTERIO LAETATUR / SUO	
	*Both children derive their <i>cognomen</i> from a parent, the honorand Aelius Demetrius from his father, and his brother Cornelius Marinus from his mother Claudia Marina. The former, who died early at age 14 and records the elaborate lament, is evidently freeborn after his father's manumission.. The <i>nomen</i> of the latter (Cornelius) differs from that of his mother (Claudia). If it derives from a previous marriage of hers, he would be Demetrius' half-brother. Other possibilities are adoption or even taking the <i>nomen</i> of a maternal grandparent. See Thylander 92ff.	
1490	Demetrius libertus 14 2008a = 15.7740 = D 8686 = IPO B 381 (cf. 381a) IMP ANTONINI AUG PII SUB CUR CL SECUNDINI RA[t et] / ANNI PHLEGONTIS AUG LIB EX OFF DEMETRI LIBER[t]I *1: 'ra[t(ionalis)'; 2: 'off(icina)'. On identifying lead pipe manufacturers (<i>plumbarii</i>) from the Fam. Caes., see esp. Bruun 351-9; and on <i>plumbarii</i> in general, id. 304ff.	Ostia: I c.AD 144 F I N P
1491	T. Ael(ius) Dionysius (1) Auc.(!) lib. 6.10676 D M / T AEL DIONYSIUS / AUC LIB FECIT SE VIVO / ET AELIAE CALLITYCENI / COIUGI SANCTISSIME / CUM QUEM(!) VIX ANN XXX SEN / ULLA QUERELLA FEMINE / INCONPARABILI ET AEL / PERSEO COLLIBERTO ET LIBER/TIS LIB POSTERIQ(!) EORUM *3: 'Aug(usti)', cf. 1582: (Aelius) Hermes (1).	Rome A F H
1492	Aelius Dionysius (2) Augg. lib. (1) 15.7369 AEILI DIONYSI / P AEILI IUVENALIS FECIT (2) 15.7370 AEILI DIONYSI AUGG LIB / AURELIUS ZOSIMUS FECIT (3) 15.7371 AEILI DIONYSI AUGG LIB / T CLAUDIUS COENDUS (4) 15.7372 AEILI DIONYSI AUGG LIB / P RA[i]US MAGNUS FECIT (5) 15.7373 AEILI DIONYSI AUGG LIB / T VIBI POSTUMI TERENTIAN[i]]	Rome F P Rome F Rome F Rome F Rome F
	While these <i>fistulae</i> can be dated to the period following 161, a date in the early 3 rd C., as suggested <i>CIL</i> ad loc., is scarcely feasible. See 1547 (P. Aelius Felix (9)). On the general question of <i>Augustorum liberti</i> , and in particular those manumitted before 161, see Chantraine 225ff. and <i>Historia</i> 24, 1975, 603ff. dismissing the possibility of joint-manumission before this date. See also	

	Weaver 58ff., 66ff.; Boulvert (2) 61ff. On the functions of those named on the <i>fistulae</i> , see Bruun	
1493	T. Aurelius Aug. lib. Dioscorus 6.5 T AURELIUS AUG LIB / DIOSCORUS VOTUM / AESCULATIO SANC/T O OB PROCESSUS / SUOS CUM VALERIA / NICE CONIUGE ET / AURELIS DIOSCORIS / [---] VITTORINAE FILIS / DD *7-8: 'Aurelis Dioscoro [et] Victorina filis'. For freedmen of Antoninus Pius manumitted before 138, see Chantraine 26; Weaver 26; Boulvert (2) 65 n. 383.	Rome A B L
1494	P. Aelius Aug. lib. Donatus 6.8476 = D 1544 (a) D M / DONATO AUGUSTORUM / TABULARIO RATIONIS FISCI / FRUMENT FECERUNT / P AELIUS AUG LIB DONATUS / ET AELIA CAENIS PARENTES / FILIO DULCISSIMO PISSIMO / AMANTISSIMO QUI VIX ANN XXIX / MENSE I DIEB XXIII ET SIBI ET SUIS LIB / LIBERTABUSQUE POSTERISQUE EORUM (b) D M / M GEGUNTIUS SATUR/NINUS ET T AELIUS APER / FECERUNT SIBI ET SUIS / ET LIBERTIS LIBERTABUS/QUE POSTERISQ EORUM *Donatus, son of Hadrian's freedman Donatus, died aged 29 a slave, presumably, under M. Aurelius and L. Verus, in 161 or shortly thereafter. He was born before the manumission of his mother Aelia Caenis, but not necessarily before that of his father; but if so, Donatus senior must have been freed in the very last years of Hadrian. It is quite rare for a <i>tabularius</i> to be still a slave, especially this late in the 2 nd century; cf. Boulvert (1) 198 n. 734. On the <i>fiscus frumentarius</i> , Hirschfeld 236-7, Boulvert (1) 234.	Rome A B H
1495	T. Aelius Aug. lib. Draco 6.20505 D M / IULIAE HELPIDI / CONIUGI B M FECIT / T AELIUS AUG LIB DRACO / ET SIBI ET SUIS / POSTERIS EORUM	Rome A
1496	T. Aurelius Egatheus Imp. Antonini Aug. lib. = T. Αυρήλιος Ἡγάθεος 'Αντ[ω]νίνου Σεβαστοῦ ἀπελεύθερος 6.8440 = D1529 = IGR 1 113 = IG 14.1039 T AURELIUS EGATHEUS IMP ANTONINI / AUG LIB A CODICILLIS D POS T Αύρηλιος (!) Ἡγάθεος Ἀντ[ω]νίνου Σεβαστοῦ ἀπελεύθερος ἐπὶ ¹ τῶν κοδικίλλων δῶρον ἀνέθ * PIR ¹ A 1242 = PIR ² A 1496. As an occupational title of a freedman in the emperor's service, 'a codicillus' is much more likely to concern the issue of diplomas of appointment to officials given by the emperor than, in the legal sphere, to written documents containing a testator's dispositions not in his original will, to be valid after his death. See Boulvert (1) 254; cf. Hirschfeld 443 n.1. Hirschfeld (118 n.3), however, in this case, identifies the freedman Egatheus with a person of the same name mentioned in Fronto, <i>ad M. Caesarem</i> 2.16 (p. 37 Naber): 'tantam de thensauris Antonini pecuniam prodigi quam nescio quae ista altilis alumna accipiat, unde nihil Egatheus acceperit', where an Egatheus receives nothing in the will of the younger Matidia. The identification is not certain, nor is an apparent duplication of official terminology plausible.	Rome I N
1497	T. Aelius Aug. lib. Eleuther 6.5304 D M / SPENDOPHORO AUG N VESTITORI / T AELIUS AUG LIB ELEUTHER ET / DIONYSIUS ET ACHILLEUS / AMICO OPTIMO B M FECIT	Rome F

1498	P. Aelius Aug. lib. Encolpius (1) 6.22951 D M / NICEPHORO ALUMNO / P AElius AUG LIB / ENCOLPIUS F / ET SIBI ET SUIS ET LIBERT / LIBERTABUSQ / POSTERISQ EORUM	Rome B
1499	P. Ael[ius] Enc[olpius?] (2) Aug[usti] I[ib.] AE 1974, 131 = G M de Rossi, <i>Forma Italiae</i> I. ix: Apiole (1970), p. 81, no. 143 + photo SILVAN[o sacr] / P AEL[ius] / ENC[—] / AUG[usti] / L[ib] *3: 'Enc(olpus)' edd., perhaps not otherwise found in the Fam. Caes., whereas 'Encolpius' is the usual form there. Cf. Solin (2) 360. 4-5: 'Aug[usti] / I[ib.]' is the form of the status indication, from the position of the remaining letters and the space available; see photo.	v.Anziata: I L
1500	P. Aelius Aug. lib. Ep[—] Polybianus 6.9055 = 33760 DIS MA[nibus] / P AELI AUG LIB EP[—] / POLYBIANI TAB[—] *3: 'tab[ulari]' probably. <i>Polybianus</i> , of (possibly late) Hadrianic date, is one of the very last <i>agnomina</i> to be found in the Fam. Caes. For the rejection of Hülsen's proposed reading 'liber[to (!)]' in line 2, see Chantraine 329, 366, Weaver 217 n. 5.	Rome I S
1501	Aelius Epagathus (T. Aeli Aug. lib. Vitalis lib.) 3.14180 = IGR 4.676 See 1712 (T. Αἴλιος Σεβ. ἀπελεύθ. Οὐειτάλιος)	Patara - Lycia F G
1502	P. Aelius Aug. lib. Epaphroditus (1) 6.8981 D M / P AELIO AUG LIB EPAPHRODITO / MAGISTRO IATROLIP[t]AE PUERORUM / EMINENTIUM CAESARIS N / QUI VIX ANNIS XXX CONIUGI / NICOPOLIS CAESARIS N ET / SOTER FILIUS PATRI [bene]MERENTI / FECERUNT ET SIBI ET SUIS LIB / LIBERTABUS POSTERISQUE EORUM *3: Head masseur in the imperial training school for young slaves. The epithet 'eminentes' used of these slave 'pueri Caesaris nostri', along with the seemingly extensive medical and other services provided for them (Boulvert (1) 178-9), indicate their elite status among slaves and that of the educational establishment to which they belonged. See Mohler, <i>TAPhA</i> 71, 1940, 268.	Rome A B H I
1503	P. Aelius Aug. lib. Epaphrod[itus] (2) 6.37744 D M / P AELIO AUG LIB EPAPHROD[ito] / TABULARIO RATIONIS CASTRENS[is] / QUI VIXIT ANNIS XXXIII [—] / FLAVIA MARGARIS MARITO[—]	Rome A H I
1504	Αἴλιος Ἐπαφροδίτος (3) Σεβαστοῦ ἀπελεύθερος P. Ross. Georg 2.26 (7) . . . Οὐαλέριος Κάσσιος θ καὶ Γέμιλνος καὶ Ἀτίνιο[ς]Εἰκοσήτωναι κληρονομίων διὰ Ιουλίου ἀδιούτορος Αἰλίω Ἐπαφροδίτῳ Σεβαστοῦ ἀπελευθέρῳ χαίρειν. (9) Ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ κράτιστος Κόσμος ὁ ἐπίτροπος ἐν καιρῷ ηθέλησεν ἐπὶ σου ἀνύγεσθαι τὰ[ς] δια[θήκας α[ὐτόθι] ἐν τῷ Ἄρσινοίτῃ] νομῷ καὶ νῦν ἡμεῖς παρακαλοῦμεν, ἀδελφέ, ἵνα ἐν τοσούτῳ τὸ ἀ[—] ἀ[κ]ριβὲς [—] (11) [-]ημεν [μ]είνηται ἄχρις ἀν πέμψωμεν πραγματευτάς.	Arsinoites : Egypt AD 160 F IN
	*The matter here is the public opening of a will after the death of the testator in the presence of witnesses and the agents (<i>πραγματευταί</i>) responsible for the collection of the requisite tax, the <i>vicesima hereditatium</i> . In this case Cosmus,	

	the equestrian <i>procurator XX hereditatium</i> for Egypt in 160, orders that the will be opened in the presence of the imperial freedman Aelius Epaphroditus, who is evidently a <i>tabularius</i> in that office, to check the terms of the will and prevent fraud on the part of the tax <i>conductores</i> involved. See Boulvert (1) 422 and, on the recording functions of <i>tabularii</i> , id. 420-25.	
1505	P. Aelius Aug. lib. Epaphus 6.8710 P AElius AUG LIB EPAPHUS / AEDITUS VENERIS FELICIS / FEC SIBI ET FILIIS SUIS / EPAPHO ET COSMO ET / CALEPHASI ALUMNAE SUAE / QUAE VIX ANN VIII ET / SUIS LIBERT LIBERTAB POSTER Q EOR	Rome B H I
1506	P. Aelius Aug. lib. Epictetus (1) 6.15612 D M / CLAUDIAE TERTYLLAE / CONIUGI OPTIMAE / BENE MERENTI / P AElius AUG LIB / EPICTETUS / FECIT	Rome A
1507	(Aelius) Epictetus (Aeli [A]ug.lib. [Chr]ysanthi) libertus AE 1950. 171 See 1475*: Aelius Chrysanthus (3).	Buthrotum: Epirus F G
1508	P. Aelius Aug. lib. Erasinus 6.10682 = D 8227 D M / P AElio AUG LIB / ERASINO DULCISSIMO / ET PIENTISSIMO / AEMILIA HELENE COIUNX / ET P P AELII AUG LIB / MUSICUS ET HELENUS FILI / FECERUNT ET SIBI ET SUIS LIBERTIS LIBER/TABUSQUE POSTERISQUE EORUM / ITA NE LICEAT HUNC MUNIMENTUM VENDERE / VEL DONARE QUOD SI FACTUM FUERIT / UTRISQUE ARK PONTIFICUM / HS XXX M N POENAE NOMINE / INFERET H M D M A *12: 'utrisque ark(ae) pontificum' = 'uterque ...' (i.e. vendor et emptor) Dessau, to supply the missing subject of 'inferet', comparing 6.10219 = D 8226. Mommsen (<i>Staatsr.</i> 3 2. 70 n. 8) reads: 'utrisque ark(abus) pontificum' whereby the penalty is paid to <i>both</i> pontifical treasures, i.e. those of the Pontifices and of the Vestal Virgins (cf. <i>ibid.</i> n.7). Unless it is assumed that both vendor and buyer are required to pay the same hefty fine twice over, i.e. to both treasures, Dessau's solution seems preferable. 14: h(uic) m(onumento) d(olus) m(alus) a(besto)'.	Rome A B M
	In general on <i>arca pontificum</i> , see Mommsen 2. 68-72. He dates (70 n. 5) the earliest instance of sacral fines being paid to the <i>collegium pontificum</i> to the time of Antoninus Pius: 6.8518 = 1406 (T. Aelius Aelianus). The present inscription could also date from that period. Both father and two sons were all freed by Hadrian, but under normal circumstances a gap is likely between these manumissions, i.e. it may be assumed that the sons were freed later in the reign of Hadrian than their father, unless one presupposes either late manumission of the father Erasinus, or early manumission for the sons. The case is complicated further, however, by the status of the mother Aemilia Helene. The second son, Helenus, derives his <i>cognomen</i> from his mother who cannot have been an imperial freedwoman and may not even have been originally an imperial slave. It is possible that she was freeborn rather than the freedwoman of a non-imperial patron and that her children by Erasinus while he was an imperial slave were themselves enslaved under the <i>SC Claudianum</i> . By the time of Hadrian this should mean that she was herself also legally an imperial slave but retaining her original freeborn name. Whether this is a reason for assuming early manumission of her children is doubtful. On the status of such children and the <i>SC Claudianum</i> , see commentary on 1406 (T. Aelius Aelianus) above.	

1509	T. Aelius Erastus conlibertus 6.8518 See 1407*: T. Aelius Aelianus. * For text, see 1407. Not classed as an <i>Augusti libertus</i> but as one of a number of freedmen of T. Aelius Aelianus. On the meaning of 'conlibertus' in this context, see <i>ibid.</i> n 2.	Rome F M
1510	T. Aelius Eros (1) Aug. lib. 6.10685 D M / T AELIO ERO/TI AUG LIB AELIA / PIAERIS MATER / FILIO PIENTISSI/MO QUI VIXIT AN / XVIII MEN IIII / B M F *On the comparative rarity of manumission under 20 for <i>Augusti liberti</i> , see Weaver 68-70, 101 n.3.	Rome C H
1511	P. Aelius Aug. lib. Eros (2) AE 1975, 59 D M / P AELIO AUG LIB EROTI ET LICINIAE EUCARPIAE PARENTIBUS / DULCISSIMIS AURELIUS AUG LIB EROS ET AELIA SALVIANA / FILI FECERUNT *Eros' son was born before, and his daughter Aelia Salviana after, he was manumitted by Hadrian. Aurelius Eros, who does not state he held a domestic or administrative post in the Imperial service, and was not manumitted before 161 or even before 169, some 25-30 years after his father, is more likely to have been born within than outside the Imperial household. For his status and that of his mother Licinia Eucarpia, see commentary on 1312 (T. Aelius Aelianus) above.	Rome A B
1512	(P. Aelius) Euhelpistus lib. qui et Manes (alumnus P. Aeli Aug. lib. Peculiaris) 6.37337 = D 9441 = AE 1911, 191 'Quem medici secarunt et occiderunt!' See 1599 (Aelius Peculiaris)	Rome C H m S
1513	T. Aelius Au[g. lib.] Euhodion 14.3635 = D 1585 = I. It. IV. 4.1.175 [--]I / [--- f]ORTI / T AELIUS AU[g lib] EUHODION / TABULARIUS VILLAE TIBUR/TIS ET VICTORIA / FILIO DULCISSIMO / B [m] F *2: The deceased son Fortis was still a slave, if Victoria is his mother and herself still a slave. For the conjecture that a space was left in line 5 for her <i>nomen gentilicium</i> in the event of her manumission, <i>CIL</i> ad loc. For a list of Antonine <i>tabularii</i> at Hadrian's villa at Tibur, see Boulvert (1) 296 n.218.	Tibur: I A B I M
1514	P. Ael(ius) Euhodus Aug. lib. 8.12951 DIS MAN SACR / ANTONIA HALINE / PIA VIX AN LXXII M X / P AEL EUHODUS AUG LIB / CONIUG BENE MERENTI / CUM QUA VIX AN XL H S E	Carthago: Africa A H M
1515	P. Aelius Aug. I. Eumolpus <i>Ineditum, Mus. Naz. Rom. Inv. Nr. 115529; Solin (1) 477; (2) 331.</i> Cf. S Priuli, <i>Ascytus, Note di onomastica petroniana</i> (Brussels 1975) 65, 219).	Rome
1516	T. Aelius [Aug. lib.] Euphrata AE 1977, 134 = <i>Bull. Com.</i> 82, 1970-1, p. 88, no.47 D M / T AELIUS [aug lib] EUPHRATA [--- / ---]	Rome +
1517	T. Aelius Euprepes Aug. lib. 6.8914 = D 1807 D M / T AELIO EUPREPETI / AUG LIB DECURIONI / MINISTRATORUM / AELIA NICE CO/IUGI BENE MEREN/TI CUM QUO VIXIT / ANNIS XXX SINE / ULLA QUERELLA * For <i>decuriones</i> , freedmen in charge of slaves in the hierarchy of the	Rome A H I

	domestic administration of the imperial palace, see Boulvert (1) 182 n.640. <i>Ministratores</i> : slave attendants, especially those who waited at table.	
1518	P. Ael(ius) Au[g.lib.] Euprepes <i>I.Eph.</i> 2201 D M / P AEL AU[g lib] / EUPREPETI [tabul(ario?)] / PROVINC[ae asiae] / PATRI PIEN[tissimo] / AIL EUPRE[pes fil] *3: 'a comm(entariis)' thus abbreviated would also be possible. For the significance of 'provincia' in the inscriptions of senior clerical officials, see Weaver 245-50.	Ephesus: Asia B I
1519	P. Ael(ius) Aug. lib. Eustomus 2.2646 D M / IULIAE PROTIDI / P AEL AUG LIB / EUSTOMUS UXORI	Asturica: Tarragonen. A
1520	P. Aelius Aug. lib. Eutyches (1) 6.33770 = D 9030 P AELIO AUG LIB / THREPTO SCRIB / CUBICUL / P AELIUS AUG LIB / EUTYCHES ADIUT / A COMM B ALUMNUS / FECIT *2-3: 'scrib(ae) cubicul(orum)'; 4-5: 'adiut(or) a comm(entariis) b(eneficiariorum)'. Eutyches is an assistant at the registry of <i>beneficia</i> , imperial enactments granting personal and other privileges (see Boulvert (1) 256 n.408, where all the officials listed are freedmen of Trajan or Hadrian). His foster-parent Threptus is a clerk of the Palace <i>cubicularii</i> , attendants of the imperial bedchamber. On freedmen <i>cubicularii</i> , subordinates of the <i>a cubiculo</i> , and organised in colleges with <i>decuriones</i> and <i>scribae</i> , see Boulvert (1) 82- 3 n.476, 241-7, with list at 242-3 n.284.	Rome B I
1521	P. Aelius Aug. lib. Eutyches (2) NSc 1928, 352 D M / P AELIUS AUG LIB EUTYCHES / VIBUS FECIT SIBI ET CONIUGI / SUAE AELIAE CRESCENTINAE BENE / MERENTI QUM CUA (!) VIXIT ANNIS XVIII / ET LIB LIBERTABUSQUE POSTERISQUE / EORUM HOC MONUMENTUM HERE/DEM NON SECUTUR (!)	Rome A H
1522	? Αἴλιος Εὐτύχης (3) <i>IGR</i> 1.1325 = <i>SB</i> 4231 = <i>AE</i> 1903, 226 "Ετους κζ' [--- Καισαρος τοῦ κυρίου [τ]ῦβι ζ' Αἴλιος Σωκρατικός ἐπίτροπος Σεβαστοῦ τὴν συνοικίαν σὺν τῇ ἀκτῇ καὶ τῷ οἰκῷ ἀπὸ θεμελίου κατεσκεύασεν διὰ Αἰλίου Εὐτυχοῦς βοηθοῦ *The status of Aelius Eutyches as an imperial freedman is not certain, but quite possible. He would most readily fit into the category of personal appointment of the equestrian procurator, Aelius Socratus ὁ κράτιστος ἐπίτροπος who is petitioned at Tebtunis in the same year in <i>SB</i> 10527 in relation to a division of public land (cf. <i>ZPE</i> 11, 1973, 21-3). For a list and discussion of <i>Augusti liberti</i> serving as assistants (<i>adiutores</i> , βοηθοί) of equestrian procurators, see Boulvert (1) 112-14; Weaver 231-6.	Egypt AD 152-3 F IN
1523	T. Aelius Eutyches (4) conlibertus 6.8518 For text, see 1407: T. Aelius Aelianus. Not classed as an <i>Augusti libertus</i> but as one of a number of freedmen of T. Aelius Aelianus. On the meaning of 'conlibertus' in this context, see ibid. n 2.	Rome F M

1524	(P. Aelius) Eutyches (5) (P. Aeli Aug. lib. Melitini) lib. 6.8857 See 1636: Aelius Melitinus. *6-9: 'excepto Eutycē lib. meo cuius neque corpus neque ossa in hoc monimento inferri volo'. (!)	Rome G M
1525	Aelia Eutychis (P. Aeli Aug. lib. Primi lib.) 8.12915 See 1620 (Aelius Primus).	Carthago: Africa G M
1526	P. Ael(ius) Aug. lib. Eutychus (1) 6.320 V S / HERCULI / INVICTO / P AEL AUG LIB / EUTYCHUS / D D	Rome L
1527	P. Aelius Aug. lib. Eutychus (2) 6.5183 = D 1776 (a) C IULIO CHRYSANTO (!) / <ET P AElius AUG LIB EUTYCHUS PRAEPOSITUS VELARIS / CASTRENSIBUS FECIT ET SIBI ET SUIS POSTERISQUE EORUM> / *2-3: added later than line 1. (b) C IULIO CHRYSANTO(!) / AEDITUO COLLEGI TABERNA/CLARIORIORUM (!) DONAT/UM SIBI LOCUM QUEM PE/TIT AR TROPHIMO INMUNE / QUEM IUSSIT S<u>A PECUNIA / FACERE SIBI ET FI<I>EIS SUIS / ET CONIUGI *2: 'tabernac(u)larii' = 'tent-makers' (cf. 6.9053); 5: 'ab'.	Rome F I k (L)
1528	T. Aelius Aug. lib. Eutychus (3) 6.9091 P AElio AUG LIB / SECUNDO FECIT / T AElius AUG LIB / EUTYCHUS ADIUTOR / A VINIS ET SIBI LIB / LIBERTABUSQUE / POSTERISQUE / EORUM *Eutychus, who was freed later than the honorand Secundus, held a junior domestic post. The other known <i>adiutor a vinis</i> was a slave (5153 = 6.9092: Erasinus Caes. n. ser.).	Rome F I
1529	T. Aelius Eutychus (4) proc. Aug. n. 11.3720 = D 1580 D M / T AElio EUTYCHO / PROC AUG N / VILLAE ALSI/ENSI / HEREDES *An imperial freedman, despite the absence of status indication which is balanced by the unusual 'Aug(usti)' in the freedman procuratorial title. (Add to the list of the latter discussed by Chantraine, <i>Historia</i> 24, 1975, 613-16.) The management of imperial villas was regularly in the hands of freedman procurators or even slave <i>vilici</i> . The villa at Alsium was added to the imperial <i>patrimonium</i> by Antoninus Pius. Cf. Hirschfeld 137-9; Boulvert (1) 300.	Caere: VII f I
1530	T. Ael(ius) Aug. lib. Eutychus (5) 13.2068 MEMORIAE / ATTIAE SUCCESSAE / VIXIT ANN XLIII / T AEL AUG LIB EUTYCHUS / CONIUGI SANCTISSIM / B M CUM QUA VIXIT / ANNIS XXXI / [- -] *Attia Successa, married at the age of 12 and with non-imperial nomen, was presumably freeborn. (What connotation does the epithet 'sanctissima' have?)	Lugdunum : Gall.Lugd A H
1531	Aelia Aug. lib. Extricata 6.5308 See 1311 (Aelius Advena).	Rome A H

1532	T. Aelius Aug. lib. Faustus (1) 6.10701 = D 8274 D M / T AELIUS AUG LIB FAUSTUS / ET AELIA ARETE UXOR FECERUNT / VIVI SIBI ET LIBERTIS SUIS ITEM / LIBERTIS LIBERTABQ SUIS ET / POSTERIS EORUM ITA UT NE DE / NOMINE SUO AUT FAMILIA EXEAT / UT POSSIT MEMORIAE SUAE QUA/M DIUTISSIME SACRIFICARI	Rome A M
1533	P. Aelius Aug. lib. Faustus (2) 6.10702 D M / P AELIO AUG LIB / FAUSTO / TI CLAUD[ius] ITALICUS [---] / HER[es ---]	Rome F
1534	Π. Αἰλιος Σεβ. ἀπελ. Φαῦστος (3) <i>IGR</i> 3.259 Π [Α]ϊλιος Σεβ ἀπελ Φ[α]ῦστος ἀνέστησε□	Iconium: Galatia
1535	T. Ael(ius) Augg. lib. Felicianus 6.10778 D M / T AEL AUGG LIB / PROBO QUI VIXIT / ANNIS XVIII DIE UNO / FILIO DULCISSIMO / T AEL AUGG LIB / FELICIANUS / PATER INFELIX	Rome B H
	*An otherwise unprecedented case of father and son who both appear to have served, or at least lived, under successive emperors. The son Probus, who died the day after his 19 th birthday, was also manumitted exceptionally early for an Imperial freedman. A ‘pathetic’ death-bed manumission (involving the second of two successive emperors?) can scarcely be invoked on its own to explain such early manumission; cf. 1140: M. Ulpius Augg. lib Agilis (2). Felicianus must have been nearly 40 at the date of his son’s death. If they were manumitted together or in close proximity to each other, either the father’s freedom was delayed later than usual or the son was manumitted at an even earlier age than 19. In any case, if both are assumed to have lived into the period of the joint-emperors M. Aurelius and L. Verus, the same consequence, even earlier manumission than at 19, would still follow for the son. On the general question of <i>Augustorum liberti</i> , and in particular those manumitted before 161, see commentary and references at 1547: P. Aelius Felix (9).	
1536	T. Aelius Aug.lib. Felicissimus 6.10706 D M S / T AELIUS AUG LIB FELI/CISSIMUS FECIT SIBI ET AE/LIAE IUCUNDAE CONIUGI / DULCISSIMAE ET LIBERTIS / LIBERTABUSQ SUIS POSTERISQ / IN F P VIII EORUM IN AG P VIII *6-7: ‘posterioris(ue) eorum in f(ronte) p(edes) VIII ...’	Rome A
1537	Aelia Aug. lib. Felicula (1) 6.10899 AELIAE AUG LIB / FELICULAE CONTUBERNALI / SANCTISSIMAE P AELIUS / HERMES CUM BASILIDE ET / EUCTO FILIS	Rome A B
1538	Aelia Aug. lib. Felicula (2) 6.10900 See 1694: T. Aelius Priamus (2).	Rome A f h
1539	Aelia Felicula (3) Aug. lib. 6.12940 D M S / AELIA FELICULA AUG LIB PIA / VIC AN LX M V D VIII H V / GEMINIUS ROGATUS PIUS / VIC AN LXXI M X D III H X / AURELIUS SUCESSUS PIUS / VIC AN XXIII M VIII [d – h --] / H S E	Carthage: Africa F H

1540	<p>P. Aelius Aug. lib. Felix (1) 5.565 P AELIUS AUG LIB / FELIX V F SIBI ET / CAESERNIAE SATURNINAE / CONIUGI CARISSIMAE / ET AELO FIRMINO FILIO PIENTISSIMO A I *2: 'v(ivus) f(ecit)'; 5: 'a(nno)'.</p>	Tergeste: X A B
1541	<p>Felix (2) Aug. I. 6.3756 = 31317 = D 5160 DIVAE FAUSTINAE / AUG / FELIX AUG L A VESTE / GLADIAT / ALLECTOR / COLLEGI IMAGINEM / EX ARG P I D D *7: 'ex arg(enti) p(ondo) l d(ono) d(edit)'. The occupational title 'a veste gladiat(oria)' refers to special vestments worn by functionaries at the gladiatorial games rather than ones specifically reserved for the emperor, according to Boulvert (1) 176f. Felix was in charge of the admission of new members of an unspecified college. The date of the dedication is post 140, when Antoninus Pius consecrated his wife Faustina I following her death that year rather post 175 when her daughter Faustina II, wife of M. Aurelius, died. Cf. AE 1956, 19 (Naples): 'Divae Faustinae Antonin[!] / Strenion lib. A cubic[u]lo]'. Boulvert (1) 176 n. 583, (2) 238 n. 253, 249 n. 333) hesitates between the two.</p>	Rome I K N Q
1542	<p>T. Aelius Felix (3) Aug. lib. (1) 6.8429 = D 1647 STRUCTURA CUM MUNITURA SARTOPHAGI(!) VETURI / FELICIS P P SUIS IMPENDIS FECIT FELIX AUG LIB / ADIUT TABUL A RAT QUI SORTITUS EST IN CONTUBERN / SUO ARRIAM RUFINAM QUAE FUIT UXOR EIUSD VET FELICIS / LOCUS CONCESSUS AB T AELO ASCLEPIODOTO *1: 'structura(m)'; 2: 'p(rimi)p(ilaris)'; 3: 'adiut(or) tabul(ariorum) a rat(ionibus)'; 'in contubern(io)'.</p> <p>(2) 6.8430 D M / T AELO FELICI / AUG LIB / ADIUTORI / ART / NEON LIB</p>	Rome A F M R
	<p>*5: 'a r(a)t(ionibus)' is preferred to the single letter abbreviations ' a r(ationibus) t(abulariorum)' or ' a r(ationibus) t(abularii)' (Boulvert (1) 99 n. 43) .or even an error for 't(abulariorm) a r(ationibus)' (Hirschfeld, quoted <i>CIL</i> ad loc.) which are difficult to parallel and also involve changing the usual order of this title. Cf. 'a rat.' in (1) 3 above; 'Cosmus Aug. I. a rat.' D 1476. For the equivalence of the junior titles 'adiutor a rationibus' and 'adiutor tabulariorum (a rationibus)', see Weaver 238-9.</p> <p>Arria Rufina, who was previously married to a soldier of the rank of <i>primipilares</i>, Veturius Felix, was likely to be freeborn. In (1) 3 'qui sortitus est in contubern(io) suo' means something like 'who had the good fortune to gain as a partner' with the implication that this occurred while he was still a slave. His junior rank as <i>adiutor</i>, usually held by slave, might indicate that his manumission was recent.</p>	
1543	<p>P. Aelius Felix (4) q(ui) et Novellius Aug. lib. 6.8464 = D 1638 D M / P AELIUS FELIX Q ET / NOVELLIUS AUG LIB / ATIUTOR(!) PRAEPOS SCALPTORUM SACRAE / MONETAES SE VIVO FE/CIT SIBI ET SUIS LIBER/TIS LIBERTABUSQUE / POSTERISQUE EORUM *2-3: 'q(ui) et' the earliest example of an imperial freedman with 'attached' <i>supernomen</i>. For that of an imperial slave from the same period or a little earlier, see Euthymus qui et Lopus (3690) whose father was M. Ulpius Aug. lib. Martialis (1270). Note, however, the freeborn wife of the imperial slave triarch Malchio (3267a), Iulia Cleopatra quae et Lezbia, probably from the mid-1st C. AD. On <i>supernomina</i> and <i>signa</i>, see note and references under 1288: M. Ulpius Nicephorus. 4: 'praepos(iti)', a regular term from the late Flavian period for senior freedman posts in the domestic service of the Fam. Caes. (For detailed</p>	Rome I M S

	examples, see Boulvert (1) 239-41; cf. Weaver 228.) Felix was in charge of the die-carvers or engravers (<i>sculptores</i>) at the mint, now under imperial management. How they differed from the <i>signatores</i> , e.g. those listed in 6.44 = D 1635, dated to AD 115, is not clear. See under (Ulpianus) Felix (1142).	
1544	[-]Aelius Aug. lib. Felix (5) 6.10707a [d] M / [so]MNO ETERNALI / [- a]ELIUS AUG LIB FELIX / [et] AELIA EGLOGE COIUX / [vi]BOS SE FECERUN<t> ET / [fil]IS NATURALIBUS / [ael]IO STEFANO AELIAE / [eut]YCHIAE * 6: '[fil]i(i)s naturalibus': the two children, Aelius Stephanus and Aelia Eutychia, who were born when their father Felix was still a slave, and thus outside a valid marriage, are illegitimate and take their status from their mother, who was free (though not necessarily freeborn) at the time. They are openly acknowledged by their parents as <i>fili iuris naturales</i> , a seldom used phrase, at least in funerary inscriptions, to which, however, no unfavourable connotation is attached. More common is 'Sp(iritu)ri f(ilii)us/a' which technically indicates that the father is not known, but can nevertheless be used of all types of illegitimate children. See Treggiari, esp. 53, 317-18 and, for children of <i>de facto</i> unions, Rawson (1) 279ff.	Rome A B
1545	T. Aelius Aug. lib. Felix (6) 6.10709 D M / T AELIO / AUG LIB / FELICI / CONIUGI / B M F	Rome a
1546	T. Aelius Aug. lib. Felix (7) 6.29396 See 1329 (Ulpia Saturnina)	Rome A B
1547	T. Aelius Felix (8) Augusti libertus 6.33730 D M / T AELIO FELICI AUG/USTI LIBERTO ATIU/TORI(!) AB ANNON/A FECIT AELIA TA/TIAS MATER OVI(!) / VIXIT ANNIS XXXII / M V D VII *6: 'oui' = 'qui'. The title 'adiutor' embraces a range of rankings from equestrians and freedmen, appointed as personal assistants to senior equestrian officials, to slaves at the base clerical grade of junior assistant. The title and status of Felix, who died as a freedman aged 32, are more characteristic of junior <i>adiutores</i> attached to specific departments in the central administration in Rome than those of the <i>adiutores tabulariorum</i> and <i>adiutores a commentariis</i> , mostly found in provincial offices and usually of slave status. See Boulvert (1) 114-15 n. 135; Weaver 236-40.	Rome C H I
1548	P. Aelius Augustorum lib. Felix (9) 8.12667 D M S / P AElius AUGUSTORUM / LIB FELIX / VIXIT ANNIS LXXVI MEN VIII / DIEBUS III HORIS XII / OSTORIA PROCULA BENE / MERENTI CONIUGI DE QUO / NIHIL QUESTA EST H S E *Felix, who died at the age of 76, and is likely to have been manumitted some 40 years or more earlier, will have lived into the joint reign of M. Aurelius and L. Verus, whenever he was freed by Hadrian. Cf. P. Aelius Hilarus Augg. lib. (1599) who reached the senior level of procurator in Alexandria. As with all the <i>T. Aelii Augustorum liberti</i> , who were freed by Antoninus and are assumed to have served or lived during the period of joint rule, the long-lived Felix in Carthage, and possibly Probus in Alexandria, may have been influenced by the post-161 status nomenclature.	Carthago: Africa A H M
	Many imperial freedmen lived, and served, under two or three successive emperors at all periods of the early empire without indicating this in their status nomenclature. Those who do make up a small minority, but how small it is impossible to estimate more precisely without knowing what proportion of the	

	<p>total has survived in the record. The present count of <i>Augustorum liberti</i> manumitted in the 120 years between AD 41 and 161 is only 44 out of a possible one thousand or more who may have served under more than one emperor, viz. Claudi 3 (401, 457, 554); Flavii 3 (808, 928 = 1064); Ulpia 7 (1140, 1161, 1233, 1299, 1319, 1322, 1323); P. Aelii 12 (1408 = 1161, 1450, 1458, 1474, 1548, 1598, 1599, 1607, 1627, 1702, 1707, 1723, 1778); T. Aelii 9 (1424, 1534, 1601, 1685, 1704 = 1535, 1717, 1729, 1759, —); Aelii (without <i>praenomen</i>) 9 (1491, 1600, 1635, 1675, 1700, 1712, 1741, 1783, 1828); <i>incerti</i> 4 (1456, 1597, [Nikomedes, Stratoni]). The proportion of surviving examples of <i>Augustorum liberti</i> manumitted in the period of sole emperors prior to AD 161 increases markedly with the Aelii (70%) compared with the Claudi, Flavii and Ulpia together (30%). The rate on a per annum basis nearly quadruples under the Ulpia compared with the Claudi and Flavii, more than doubles again under the Aelii compared with the Ulpia, and the momentum of change is maintained through the Aelii if one assumes that the Aelii without <i>praenomen</i> belong to the reign of Antoninus than that of Hadrian. It goes without saying that no inscription of an <i>Augustorum libertus</i> prior to 161 can be dated to the reign of the manumitting emperor.</p> <p>See further on the general question of <i>Augustorum liberti</i>, and in particular those manumitted before 161, Chantraine 225ff. and <i>Historia</i> 24, 1975, 603ff. (dismissing the possibility of joint-manumission before this date); Weaver 58ff., 66ff.; G Fabre, <i>REA</i> 75, 1973, 111-25; Boulvert (2) 61ff.</p>	
1549	<p>P. Aelius Aug. lib. Felix (10) 10.7308 D M / FORTIS CAESAR SER / SIBI ET CHARIDI / CONIUGI BENE / MERENTI ET P AELO / AUG LIB FELICI POSTE/RISQ SUORUM FECIT</p>	Panhormus: Sicilia E?
1550	<p>P. Aelius Felix(?) (11) Aug. lib. 14.4767 = NSc. 1928, 173 no.12 = IPO A 4 = AE 1981, 175 D M / P AElius FELIX(?) / AUG LIB F / AELIAE NICENI / CONIUGI / B M *3: 'f(ecit)'.</p>	Ostia: I A
1551	<p>T. Aelius Aug. lib. Felix (12) AE 1975, 154 T AELO AUG LIB FELICI / PRO / P AElius VICTOR / FRATER / ET AElius VICTORINUS FIIUS *2: 'pro(curator)'; 5: 'fi(l)ius'.</p>	Albano Laziale: I B D I
1552	<p>T. Aelius [Aug. lib.] Felix (13) <i>Miscellanea greca e romana</i> 11,1987, 239-41 = AE 1987. 100 See 1402: T. Aelius A—.</p>	Rome A C D
1553	<p>P. Aelius Felix (14) (P. Aelii Aug. lib. Telesphor) lib. 6.9041 See 1*** Aelius Telesphor(us) (1).</p>	Rome G
1554	<p>(Aelius) [Fel]ix (15) (Aelii [A]ug. lib. [Chr]ysanthi (3)) libertus AE 1950. 171 See 1474 Aelius Chrysanthus (3).</p>	Buthrotum : Epirus F G G
1555	<p>[Aelius?] Festus Augg. lib. 8.1814 See 1***: Aelius Parthenopaeus On the <i>nomen</i> 'Aelius', see 1***. On <i>Augustorum liberti</i> before AD 161, see 1548*: Aelius Felix (9).</p>	Lugudunum : Gallia F I

1556	<p>P. Aelius Aug. lib. Florus 6.8432 = D 1526 = See 1147: Ulpia sive Aelia Apate * <i>PIR</i>², A 177; <i>RE</i> 1, 492 s.v. Aelius (56). Florus, who reached the grade of <i>procurator</i> in a department in Rome, usually only achieved some ten years or more after manumission, probably put up this inscription late in Hadrian's reign or early during that of Antoninus. The phrase (lines 5-7) 'qui proc(uravit) in ratione hered(itatum) ad leges praedior(um)' means that he was in charge of administering the sale contracts of properties acquired by the flourishing <i>hereditates</i> department which were not retained for the imperial <i>patrimonium</i>. Above him was the senior freedman <i>procurator hereditatium</i>. Since Trajan the <i>hereditates</i> was headed by an equestrian <i>ducenarius</i>. See Boulvert (1) 271-2; Pflaum (1) 55-6; Hirschfeld 101-05; Eck ...</p>	Rome A B H I M
1557	<p>Aelia Fortunata (P. Aeli Aug. lib. Telesphori) lib. 6.9041 See 1***.</p>	Rome G
1558	<p>P. Ael(ius) Aug. lib. Fortunatus (1) 6.10711 D M / P AEL AUG / LIB FORTU/NATO AELI/A PROCOPE / UXOR B M F</p>	Rome A
1559	<p>P. Aelius Aug. lib. Fortunatus (2) <i>Arch. Class.</i> 1953, p. 264 no. 2 DIS MANIBUS / P AEILIO AUG LIB FORTUNATO / PICTORI ET PRAEPOSITO PICTORUM / VIXIT ANNIS L FECIT AELIA CHRYSOGONE / CONIUGI BENEMERENTI CUM QUO / VIXIT ANNIS XXXII SINE QUERELLA ET SIBI / ET LIB LIBERTABUSQUE POSTERISQUE EOR *Fortunatus, married at 18 to Chrysogone, probably while still a fellow slave, progressed from the ranks the <i>pictores</i> to be a supervisor of the painters/ house decorators in the domestic service. These could be either slaves or freedmen, to judge by the <i>pictores</i> listed in Jory & Moore, <i>Index to CIL</i> 6, Pt. 7, at p. 4579.</p>	Rome A H I
1560	<p>T. Aelius Aug. lib. Fortunatus (3) 8.12883 = <i>ILT</i> 911 D M S T AELIUS AUG / LIB FORTUNATUS PIUS / ADIUT TABULARI A MEN/SA VAGENSI VIXIT AN / LXV M II LIB EIUS FECER / H S E *3: 'adiut(or) tabulari(orum)'; 'adiutor) tabulari(i)' Boulvert (1) 220-1 n. 111; on a possible distinction in these terms, see Weaver 239-40; cf. Boulvert (1) 216 n. 79.</p>	Carthago: Africa g H I M
1561	<p>P. Aelius Aug. li[b]. Fortunatus (4) AE 1937, 111 P AELIUS AUG LI[b] / FORTUNATUS E[b] / KYRI[I]LA UXOR EIUS / PAULINAE FILI[ae] / VIX MENS X</p>	Igde- Agatch: Galatia A B H
1562	<p>P. Aelius Aug. lib. Fronto (1) 6.10712 = 14.4019 P AEILIO AUG LIB FRONTONI CONIUGI [optim]O PATRI PISSIMO ITE[m / gr]ANIAE DIAE FELICIS[sima et act]E FECERUNT ET SI[bi ---]</p>	Rome / Ficulea: I A B F
1563	<p>Π. Αἰλιος Φρόντων (2) Σεβαστοῦ ἀπελεύθερος <i>I.Eph.</i> 2202a Τοῦτο μνημεῖον καὶ αἱ σοροὶ αἱ [β'] καὶ τὸ ἡμισόριν καὶ τὸ σολάριν τὸ κατὰ τοῦ οἴκου ἐστὶν Π. Αἰλ. Φρόντωνος Σεβαστοῦ ἀπελευθέρου δεκαδάρχου καὶ Αἰλίου Ἐρμίᾳ ζῆ ἀπελευθέρου αὐτοῦ. εἰ δέ τις πωλήσει ἢ ἀγοράσει ἢ ἐκκόψει γράμμα ἀποτείσει τῷ φίσκῳ Χ .βφ' κατὰ τὴν διαθήκην αὐτοῦ. τούτου τοῦ ἡρώου καὶ τῶν σορῶν τῶν δύο κήδεται Ἀπολλώνιος</p>	Ephesus: Asia F G I M

	'Απολλώνου [-]αις *4: δεκαδάρχου = 'decurionis'; Ερμία, genitive case.	
1564	Aelius Aug. lib. Gala 14.2175 = 15.7828 (a) AEI AUG LIB GALAES (b) P AElius SYMPHOR FECI	Aricia: I F P
1565	P. Aelius Aug. lib. Gaudianus AE 1956, 73 D M / P AEI AUG LIB / GAUDIANI VI/XIT AN XXVIII M / VIII D XIII P AElius EUPREPES F PISSI/MO F C *5: 'f(ilio)'. P. Aelius Gaudianus, if slave born, would derive his status from his unnamed mother while she was still an imperial slave. His father Euprepes is probably, but not necessarily, also a Hadrianic freedman.	Tibur: I C H
1566	T. Ael(ius) Aug. lib. Gelos 6.13339 D M / AUR LAMPYRIS / T AEL AUG LIB / GELOTI CONIUGI / B M F	Rome A
1567	[?Aeli]a Germana Divi [Had]riani nutrix 14.3721 = 6.10909 = <i>I.lt.</i> IV, 1, 262 D M / [aeli]AE GERMANAE DIVI / [had]RIANI NUTRICI ET AELIO / [--]NO FILIO EIUS INSCRIPTERUNT / [aeli]A HERMIONE AELI FELICIS / [alu]MNI EORUM CONIUNX / [et filii?] EORUM SIBI LIBERTIS LIBERTA/[busqu]E POSTERISQUE EORUM	Tibur: I B I
1568	L. Aelius Geta (1) Aug. lib. 6.8778 D [m] / CESTIAE MAGNAE / QU(a)E VIX AN XVIII / M III D XI L AElius GETA / AUG LIB CUBICLARIUS / CONIUGI B M F * Probably manumitted by L. Verus between 138 and 161, when he was L. Aelius Aurelius Commodus, prior to his becoming joint-Augustus with Marcus Aurelius (161-169), when he took the name L. Aurelius Augustus Verus. The inscription, however, would date from 161 or later, in a manner similar to that of the T. Aurelii Aug. lib. under Hadrian and Antoninus, noted above (1335, 1341). Cf. 1442*: L. Aelius Apulus Aug. lib. See Weaver 26f. and Chantraine 63f. The cognomen 'Geta' ...	Rome A H I
1569	T. Aelius Aug. lib. Geta (2) 14.3717 = <i>I.lt.</i> IV, 1, 257 = <i>Epigraphica</i> , 51, 1989, p. 223 D M / T AEI AUG LIB / GETAE AELIA LAIS / CONIUXS ET AELIAE [a]THENAIIS [e]T DI[on]YSIA FI/LIAE PARENTI / DULCISSIMO	Tibur / Rome A B
1570	P. Aelius Aug. lib. Glaphyr(us) 6.3710 = 31002 SILVANUM CUM BASI / P AElius AUG LIB / GLAPHYR D D	Rome L
1571	T. Aelius Aug. lib. Glaucus 6.8774 D M / T AELIO AUG LIB GLAUCO / CUBICULARIO / STATIONIS PRIMAE / ROSCIA LYDE / CONIUGI KARISSIMO / BENEMERENTI FECIT / ET SIBI ET SUIS ET L LB L LBERT / P E HOC MONI MENTUM H N S *8-9: 'l(ibertis) l(iberta)b(us) l(ibertorumque) l(i)bert(is) p(osterisque) e(orū)' Mommsen.	Rome A I

1572	P. Aelius Aug. lib. Hamelius 6.10715 D M / P AElius AUG LIB / HAMELIUS FECIT / MIHI ET MEIS LIBERTIS LIBERTABUSQ / POSTERISQ EORUM / CUM SUO SUBDIALI *7: 'subdialis', a terrace or balcony added to his monument.	Rome k
1573	[- A]elius Aug.lib. He[---] 6.7651 D M / [- a]ELIUS AUG LIB HE[---] / FECIT SIBI E[t / aeli]AE CALLIRHOE FIL[iae et / lib. lib]ERTABUSQUE POSTERI[sque / in fl]RON P XI IN AGR [P ---]	Rome B M
1574	P. Aelius Aug. lib. Helenus (1) 6.10682 = D 8227 See 1507* (P. Aelius Erasinus).	Rome C D M
1575	P. Aelius Aug. lib. Helenus (2) 6.27972 D M / M VALERIO / COTYNO / P AElius AUG LIB / HELENUS / AMICO OPTIMO FECIT	Rome F
1576	P. Aelius Aug. lib. Helius (1) 6.10717 P AEli AUG LIB HELI / [---- / ----] / CONIUGI B M CUM QUO / VIX ANN XXXX SINE / ULLA QUERELLA ET S / ET L L P E *2-3: no doubt these lines contain the name of the dedicator, Helius' wife, and possibly his occupational title. 6-7: 's(ibi) et l(ibertis) l(ibertabusque) p(osterisque) e(orum)'; for the formula (cf. 1576 below).	Rome a H
1577	P. Aelius Aug. lib. Helius (2) 6.17003 D M / DOMITIAE / EUTERPE / P AElius AUG / LIB HELIUS / CONIUGI / BENE MERENTI / FECIT ET SIBI / ET SUIS / LIBERTIS / LIBERTABUSQUE / POSTERISQUE / EORUM *Not the same Helius as in 1576 above, unless (improbably) Domitia Euterpe is a first, or (impossibly) the still surviving wife.	Rome A
1578	Aelia Helpis (1) (Aug. lib. P.Aeli Agathemer) liberta AE 1988, 176 See 1414*.	Ostia: I A G M
1579	Aelia Helpis (2) (P.Aeli Aug.lib. Symphori lib.) 14.524 See 1756: P. Aelius Symphorus (2) *Helpis, who died aged 16, had been manumitted early by her 'patronus et contubernalis' (the word 'coniunx' is not used).	Ostia: I A G H
1580	Aelius Hermadio Aug. lib. 6.10718 D M S / AElius HERMADIO AUG LIB / ETR(!) AELIA CANDIA MEMORRIAM(!) / HEEGIO(!) HERMETIONI ET AEli FELICI/TATI PATRONIS BENE MERENTIB/US COMPARAVERAVERUNT(!) ITE/MQUE SIBI SUISQUE OMNI/BUS LIBERTIS LIBERTABUSQ/UE POSTERISQUE AEORUM / QUIUS LOCI ARIA(!) LONGA / P XII *3-5: 'et Aelia Candia memoriam Aelio Hermetioni et Aeliae Felicitati'(?); litteris pessimis C/L. Equally challenging is how the imperial freedman Aelius Hermadio can have two non-imperial 'patroni'. One would expect, in lines 2-6, Hermetio and Felicitas to be dedicating the memorial to <i>their</i> patrons Hermadio Aug. lib. and Candia, and for the former pair to be in the nominative case and	Rome A G M

	Hermadio and Candia to be in the dative, rather than the other way round. (!).	
1581	P. Aelius Hermeros Aug. lib. <i>Bull. Comm.</i> 1940, p.183 no. 18 D M / P AELIO HER/MEROTI AUG LIB / F C / OPETREIA ASCLEPIAS / CONIUGI *4: 'f(aciundum) c(uravit)'.	Rome A
1582	Hermes (1) Aug. lib. 3.431 = .7116 = 13674 = D.1449 = <i>I.Eph.</i> 666 [--] PROC / [imp] CAESARIS TRAN(!) HADRIANI / [au]C AD DIOECESIN ALEXANDR / [pr]OC BIBLIOTHECAR GRAEC ET / LATIN AB EPIST GRAEC PROC LYC / PAMP GALAT PAPHL PISID PONT / PROC HEREDIT ET PROC PRO[vin] CIAE ASIAE PROC SYRIAЕ / HERMES AUG LIB ADIUT / EIUS / H C *3: '[Au]g(usti)'; 10: 'h(onoris) c(ausa)'. On the status of Hermes as <i>adiutor</i> of an equestrian procurator, see Weaver 231-3. The equestrian career is that of Valerius Eudaemon, a friend of Hadrian (<i>HA Hadr.</i> 15). He held his Syrian post c.137 and went on to become prefect of Egypt 141/142 (see Pflaum (2) 264-71, No. 110). A Greek version of his career, found in Syria (<i>BCH</i> 3. 257), is included at D 1449.	Ephesus: Asia c.AD137 F I N
1583	? [T. Aelius Aug. lib. Her]mes (2) 6.658 [pro sa]LUTE / [imp caes ant]ONINI / [aug pii tr p cos ii]II PP / [deo sancto s]ILVANO / [? t aelius aug lib her]MES / [tabula?]RIUS / [-- m]ARMORE / [-- ex vot]O SUS/[cepto et solut]O DD / [dedicav]ITQUE / [--a]UG / [messalino e]T LARGO COS *The restorations of the name, status and occupational title of the dedicator are conjectural. He is accepted as a freedman of Antoninus Pius by Boulvert at (1) 224 n.124.	Rome AD 147 I L N
1584	T. Aelius Aug. lib. Hermes (3) 6.8854 = 33753 D M / T AELIO / AUG LIB / HERMETI / AB IN/STRUIME/NTO / AUXILIAR/IO / SACRUM	Rome I
1585	Hermes (4) Aug. lib. 6.8977 D M / HERMETI AU/G LIB PRAE<ce>PT/ORI PUERORUM / CAES N AELIA / CERVOLA / CONIUGI B M D [m] / AEL[ia ce]/RVOL[a aug] / LIB OR[natrix] / PUER[orum] / CAE[s n] / QU[—] * On the <i>nomen</i> of Hermes, see 1470 : Aelia :Cervola. 3: <i>praeceptor</i> = <i>paedagogus</i> , which is the usual term for a tutor at the Palatine school for imperial slaves; cf. 1337 : Ulpian Sotacus. The distinction between the two titles is not clear. On imperial <i>paedagogi</i> and the <i>paedagogium</i> <i>Palatinum</i> , see Mohler 264ff.; Boulvert (1) 177-8 + nn. 593-604.	Rome A I
1586	P. Aelius Aug. lib. Hermes (5) 6.10835 = <i>RIB</i> 2323 D M / AELIAE AGATHE / CONIUGI /BENEME/RENTI FECIT P AELIUS / AUG LIB HERMES SIBI / ET SUIS ET L L P E	Rome A b
1587	T. Aelius Au[g]. lib. Hermes (6) 6.10995 D M / AELIAE TYCHE FILIAE PIENT/ISSIMAE ET M ULPIO VITALI / PARENTI FECIT T AELIUS AUS(!) LIB / HERMES SIBI ET SUIS LIBERTIS LIB/ERTABUSQUE POSTERISQUE E/ORUM LIBERTIS	Rome B C

1588	L. Ael(ius) Aug. lib. Hermes (7) 6.25085 D M / PROFUTURI / L AEL AUG LIB / HERMES ALUM/NO FECIT	Rome B
1589	[-] Aelius Aug. lib. Hermes (8) AE 1923, 76 [cl]AUDIAE METHE CONIUG[i / s]ANCTISSIMAE QUAE VIX AN XLV / [m]ENS VIII DIEB XXVI BENE MERENT FEC / [-] AELIUS AUG LIB HERMES / [pr]AEPOSITUS PISTORUM ET / [c]HRYSANTHUS FIL SIBI ET CLAUD / [e]UCHARI F ET HERMETIANO / [n]EPOTI ET TITHASO COGNAT SU[o / e]T LIBERTIS LIBERTABUSQ SUIS / (10) POSTERISQ EORUM / ITEM POST HOS SI QUIT(!) / HUMANITUS ATTIGERIT / PISTORIBUS CAESARIS N *11-12: 'si quid humanitus attigerit': 'if anything in the course of human nature (i.e. death) should befall'. The eventual assignment of the eventual rights to burial in the tomb to members of a college, that of the imperial pistores (bakers) to which Hermes belonged.	Rome A B E H I M
1590	Πόπλιος Αἰλιος Ἐρμῆς (9) ἀπελεύθερος τῶν κυρίων SEG 39, 1989, 1220 [—] καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Πόπλιου Αἰλίου Ἐρμῆδος ἀπελευθέρου τῶν κυρίων ζῆ	Ephesus: Asia b
1591	? [A]e[l]ius Hermetio (Aeli Hermandionis Aug. lib. et Aeliae Candiae lib.?) 6. See 1579* (Aelius Hermadio)	Rome A G M
1592	Aīlios Ἐρμίας (Π Αīλ Φρόντωνος Σεβαστοῦ ἀπελευθέρου) ἀπελεύθερος <i>I.Eph.</i> 2202a See 1562 : P Aelius Fronto.	Ephesus : Asia G
1593	[Ἐρ]μόφιλος ([-] Αīλιος Τέρ]πιος Σεβ. ἀπελ.) ἀπελεύθερος /GR 3.250 Laodicea: Galatia See 1*** ([-] Αīλιος Τέρ]πιος Σεβ. ἀπελ.)	Laodicea: Galatia
1594	P. Ael(ius) Aug. lib. Hesper 6.34242 P AEL AUG LIB HESPER / FECIT SIBI ET P HEREN/NIO THYMO ET LIBER/TIS UTRIUSQUE LIBER/TABUSQUE POSTERISQUE / EORUM / IN F PED XXV IN AG PED XXXII	Rome F
1595	P.Aelius Aug.lib. Hierax (1) 6.10722 = 34029 D P AELIO M / AUG LIB HIERACI / SECUNDINA FILIA / PATRI PIENTISSIMO / FECIT	Rome B
1596	P. Aelius Hierax Aug. lib. (2) 6.23364 D M / OCTAVIAE / THEODORAE / P AELIUS / HIERAX AUG LIB / CONI KARISSIMAE / B M FECIT	Rome A
1597	P. Aelius Hieron Aug. lib. AE 1907, 125 = NSc 1906, p. 213 HERCULI SACRUM / P AELIUS HIERON AUG LIB AD ADMISSIO[NE]	Montero- tondo: I I L

1598	Hilarus (1) Augstor(um) libertus 6.585 SILVANO / SACR / AMPLIATUS / HILARI / AUGUSTOR / LIBERTI SER / VILICUS / DD *Cf. Chantraine 236 n. 52; 390 n. 16. For 'Augstor(um)' as a pointer to a pre-161 date in the status indication of <i>Augustorum Augg. liberti</i> , see Chantraine 235-6. On the general question of <i>Augustorum liberti</i> , and in particular those manumitted before 161, see Chantraine 225ff. and <i>Historia</i> 24, 1975, 603ff. dismissing the possibility of joint-manumission before this date. See also Weaver 58ff., 66ff.; Boulvert (2) 61ff.	Rome G L
1599	P. Aelius Hilarus (2) Augg. lib. 14.2504 = D 1491 P AELIUS HILARUS / AUGG LIB QUI / PROC ALEXANDRIAE / AD RAT PATRIMONII *2: 'proc(uravit)'.. PIR ² A 192; RE 1. 521, s.v. Aelius (70). On <i>Augustorum liberti</i> , see above 1598*: Hilarus (1) and 1548*: P. Ael. Felix (9).	Ager Tusculanus: I I
1600	Aἰλιος [Ὑγεῖνος τῶν Κυρίων ἀπελ[εύθε]ρος <i>I.Eph.</i> 2203 τούτου τοῦ ἥρων κῆδεται Αἰλιος [Ὑγεῖνος τῶν Κυρίων ἀπελ[εύθε]ρος σὺν καὶ [-]σω[-] Ἡδίστου Χρυσε[ρ]ωτος καὶ κατεσκευάσαμεν σὺν καὶ γυναιξὶν καὶ [τέκ]νοις ζώσιν. τού[του τὸ ἀντίγραφον ἀ[πε]τέθη ἵσ τὸ ἀ[ρ]χῆ[ο]ν *2: [Ὑγεῖνος and other supplements: Merkelbach. On <i>Augustorum liberti</i> , see above 1598*: Hilarus (1) and 1548*: P. Aelius Felix (9).	Ephesus: Asia A B M
1601	Hylas Aug. lib. 14.1976 = 1996 = 5309.11 = 15.7738 (a) IMP CAES TRAIAN HADRIANI AUG / SUB CUR HYLAE AUG LIB PROC 1410 A LARCIUS EUTYCHES FEC *PIR ² H 240. On the meaning of <i>procurator</i> in the <i>fistulae</i> , see Bruun ...	Ostia : I I N P
1602	T. Aelius Augustorum lib. Ianuarius (1) 6.5169 D M / T AELIUS AUGUSTORUM LIB / IANUARIUS ET / AELIA SUCCESSA CONIUNX / VIVI FECERUNT SIBI ET LIBERIS / SUIS ITEM LIBERTIS LIBERTA/BUSQUE POSTERISQUE EORUM / H M D M A *h(uic) m(onumento) d(olus) m(alus) a(besto'). See 1547*: P. Aelius Felix (9). On the general question of <i>Augustorum liberti</i> , and in particular those manumitted before 161, see Chantraine 225ff. and <i>Historia</i> 24, 1975, 603ff. dismissing the possibility of joint-manumission before this date. See also Weaver 58ff., 66ff.; Boulvert (2) 61ff.	Rome A b
1603	P. A[elius] Aug. lib. Ianu[arius] (2) 6.10431 [---] / FILIA [---] / QUAE VIXIT A[nnis ----] / DIEBUS XXIII P A[elius] AUG LIB IANU[arius et] / CINNIA EUPHEM[ia? ----] / INFELICISSIM[---]	Rome A b h
1604	P. Aelius Aug. lib. Ianuarius (3) 6.15317 D M / TI CLAUDIO VITALIONI FILIO / KARISSIMO QUI VIX ANN XI / M VII D XIII FECIT / P AELIUS AUG LIB IANUARIUS PATER / ET CLAUDIAE SUCCESSAE CONIUGI / BENE MERENTI ET INCOMPARABILI FEMINAE / CUM QUA VIX ANN XXXI CUIUS NULLA CUPIDITATE / EST EXPERT ET TI CLAUDIO AUG L CENSORINO FILIO / KARISSIMO ET SIBI ET SUIS LIB LIBERTABUSQ POSTERQ / EORUM	Rome A B

	*8-9: ‘cuius nulla(m) cupiditate(m) est expert(us)’, ‘whom he found in no way greedy/avaricious (??), a curiously negative compliment, however this is taken. A simpler, but less likely correction, ‘cuius nulla cupiditate est expers’ would yield a positive sentiment, something like ‘(during which time) he lost none of his longing for her’.	
	A problem with personal nomenclature arises (see 373*: Ti. Claudius Censorinus). Two imperial freedmen, Ti. Claudius Censorinus and P. Aelius Ianuarius, with <i>nomina</i> of emperors as widely separated chronologically as Claudius/Nero and Hadrian, both appear in the same inscription, The 2 nd C. date is not in question; it is Hadrianic (or possibly Antonine), despite the abbreviation ‘Aug. I.’, which is charactistically, but not exclusively 1 st C, in the status indication of Claudius Censorinus, whereas P. Aelius Ianuarius has the later form ‘Aug lib.’ (see Chantraine 150ff.; Weaver 72-5). This case also differs importantly from that of Ti. Claudius Avitus and T. Aelius Theodotus (355 = [1685]) in that here, instead of two brothers, there is a father and son relationship, but not in the order of the father gaining his freedom before his son, as one might expect. In this case, surprisingly, the son would have to have been manumitted first, by Claudius or Nero, and the father much later, by Hadrian, i.e. at least <i>half a century or more</i> later. The problem is how to explain the <i>nomen ‘Claudius’</i> at that later date. Apart from the (unlikely) assumption that the status indication <i>Aug. I.</i> was simply inserted erroneously by the stonemason, either Ti. Claudius Censorinus was manumitted (i) by Claudius or Nero, or (ii) by a later emperor.	
	The first solution, which was proposed by Boulvert (2) 55-6 n. 329, is highly improbable, as the following reconstruction of the family of P. Aelius Ianuarius shows. The legal age of 30 years for formal manumission required by the lex Aelia Sentia of AD 4 was generally adhered to in the Familia Caesaris, with an average age at manumission for imperial slaves between 30 and 35 (Weaver 104), especially for those employed in the imperial service. No such posts are mentioned in this inscription, however, to serve as individual career guide posts, in contrast with those of the brothers Claudius Avitus and Aelius Theodotus (355 = [1685]), which justifies allowing some margin for earlier manumission, say at 25 and 20 years respectively for Censorinus and for his mother Claudia Successa, who in this scenario must be assumed to have been an imperial slave at the time Censorinus was born.	
	Censorinus was then born no later than the early years of Claudius’ reign, say AD 41-43, in order to have been manumitted before the death of Nero in 68. If his mother had her first child at the age of 19, she was born in the early AD 20s, was manumitted in the early AD 40s at the early age of 20. She lived as the spouse of Ianuarius for 31 years till the early AD 70s, during which period, after her manumission her second son Vitalio was born, who died by, say, the late AD 50s at the age of 11 years, 7 months and 13 days.	
	Meanwhile her husband, Ianuarius, who was unlikely to have been younger than his young wife Successa, was born not later than c.AD 20. Despite the early manumission of both his wife and his eldest son, he himself is supposed not to have been freed till at least AD 117 or later, approaching the age of 100, when his son, now approaching the age of 80, had already been freed for half a century or more. Such late manumission, for whatever reason, is unprecedented in the imperial <i>familia</i> at that or any other period. Such a scenario, although weighted, if anything, on the side of understatement, beggars belief, without taking into account the emotional aspect of his funerary monument to his wife and two sons.	
	The inscription, as with most of its kind, gives an impression of recent grief, not least with the precise recording of the months and days of his young son Vitalio’s life, which comes first and probably precipitated the dedication to his family. .. The language used is emotional and endearing: ‘karissimus’ (twice), ‘incomparabilis’ and the unusual phrasing of lines 8-9, mentioned above. It is hard to believe that this refers to deaths that occurred some 50 or even 60 years	

	previously.	
	An alternative explanation of the anomalous nomenclature of Ti. Claudius Aug. I. Censorinus in the mid-2 nd C., proposed by Weaver (CQ 15, 1965, 323-5) and, with somewhat different emphasis, by Chantraine (86-7), invokes the SC <i>Claudianum</i> of AD 52, as modified by Hadrian (Gaius 1. 84; cf. Tacitus, Ann. 12. 53. 1). Contrary to the <i>ius gentium</i> , whereby a child born to parents without <i>conubium</i> followed the status of the mother, the <i>senatusconsultum</i> reduced to slavery the child of a woman who was a Roman citizen (<i>civis Romana</i>), whether freeborn (<i>ingenua</i>) or freed (<i>liberta</i>), who cohabited with the slave of another master, while the mother was reduced to the status of either a <i>liberta</i> or <i>serva</i> , depending on whether she had the consent or not of the master to the union. Hadrian restored the rule of the <i>ius gentium</i> , without, however, abolishing the penalty of reducing the status of the mother. (See Weaver 162-9 for further details.)	
	While Claudia Successa could not have been a freedwoman of Claudius or Nero, she could have been a freedwoman of a Neronian freedman or of a patron outside the Fam. Caes. but was most probably a freeborn descendant of one of these. Both her children would have been born before the manumission of their father by Hadrian, as they derive their <i>nomen</i> 'Claudius' from her, not from Ianuarius. Censorinus was the elder of the two; he acquired slave status at birth under the original sc., while his mother similarly became a freedwoman, but both retained the names they otherwise would have had as freeborn citizens, as appears to have been usual, at least for <i>ingenuae</i> penalised under the terms of the sc. Their children may well have followed suit and only adopted the regular nomenclature of the Fam. Caes. when formally recruited at the appropriate age to domestic or administrative positions in the imperial service. The anomaly in the case of Censorinus may consist, not in the retention of his mother's <i>nomen</i> , but in the use of the status indication 'Aug. I.' without having received an appointment to the imperial service.	
	Claudius Vitalio, the younger brother of Censorinus, on the other hand, was born after the sc, had been changed by Hadrian; he therefore followed the status of his mother who was a <i>liberta</i> under the sc. and so he was born free (Gaius 1. 84: 'cum ipsa mulier libera permaneat, liberum pariat'). Their father, who as a <i>Caesaris servus</i> was originally responsible for application of the sc. to the family, was subsequently manumitted by Hadrian as P. Aelius Ianuarius.	
	The inscription, erected at least nearly 12 years after the death of Claudius Vitalio, could be even later, as it also records 31 years of marriage with Claudia Success and belong to the reign of Antoninus Pius. Vitalio, who, unlike his elder brother, did not enter the ranks of the imperial freedmen, retained his mother's <i>nomen</i> , as she had also kept her original one, as appears to have been usual by <i>libertae Claudiana</i> . The only curiosity is that Censorinus, who did the same, did not conform with the normal practice when he entered the ranks of the imperial freedmen, although no official appointment therein is claimed for him on his funerary inscription.	
1605	T. Aelius Ianuarius (4) Aug. lib. 14.3718 = <i>I.lt.</i> IV, 4.1. 258 D M / T AELIOIANUARIO / AUG LIB L EPIOPES P F / VIX AN XXX MENS III DIEB XIII / UCENA VICTORIA CONIUGI / CARISSIM CUM QUO VIX ANN XIII *2-3: 'l epiopes p f, the reading is corrupt (cf. Chantraine 390 n. 13). Dessau, CIL ad loc., suggests 'T. Aelio Ianuarii Aug. lib(erti) l(iberto) + cognomen; or perhaps an occupational title is concealed in 'lepiopespf'.	Tibur : I A H I?
1606	Ianuarius (5) (Aug. lib.) procurator Imp. Caes. Hadriani Aug. 8.25943 = <i>ILT</i> 1320 = <i>FIR</i> A2, I p491f.n.101 () Col. II 2-3: SERMO PROCURATO[rum im]P [c]AES HADRIANI AUG. Col. IV 1-7: [e]ARINUS ET DORYPHORUS PRIMIGE[nio / s]UO SALUTEM. EXEMPLUM EPISTULAE SCRIP/TAE NOBIS A TUTILIO PUDENTE EGREGIO VIRO / UT NOTUM HABERES ET IT QUOD SUBIECTUM EST /	Ain el Djemala: Africa AD 117/ 138

	[c]ELEBERRIMIS LOCIS PROPONE. VERRIDIUS / BASSUS ET IANUARIUS MARTIALI SUO SALUT[em]. / SI QUI AGRI CESSANT ET RUDES SUNT ... *For equestrian-freedman pairs of procurators. Cf. 1191*: (Ulpius) Epimachus*, 1214: (Ulpius) Felicior, 1427: Aelius Amphigethes. As with other such pairs, the freedman procurator is named second and by <i>cognomen</i> only, without <i>nomen</i> and sometimes, as here, even without status indication. For the origin and nature of such dual procurators in the imperial patrimonial administration of Asia Minor and Africa in the later 2 nd C., see Boulvert (1) 270ff., 394ff.; Weaver 264ff.	F IN
1607	P. Aelius Ianuarius (6) Aug(ustor)um libertus AE 1954, 86 = G Fabre, REA 75, 1973, 112; cf. AE 1972, 239 D M / P AELI IANVARI AUGUSTOR / LIBERTI ANN XXXX / TI CLAUDIA CALE UXOR MARITO / OPTIMO ET / P AELIUS EPHESIUS PATRI / PISSIMO / D S F C *3: the reading 'XXX' (AE 1954, 86) is clearly wrong (see Fabre, REA 1973, Pl.III). The correct reading 'XXX' eliminates the need to pose early manumission of Ianuarius under the age of 30, if he was to have served under two successive emperors. 4: 'Ti(beria)', an uncommon use of the feminine <i>praenomen</i> in the Familia Caesaris. 7: 'd(e) s(uo) f(aciendum) c(uraverunt'). On the name of Ianuarius and his likely function in Lusitania, see especially the detailed study of G Fabre, REA 75, 1973, 111-25, who also re-examines the question of the status of <i>Aug(ustorum) liberti</i> , and in particular those manumitted before 161, supporting the possibility of joint-manumission before this date. For a list of examples, see commentary above on 1547: P. Aelius Felix (9). On this general question, see also Chantraine 225ff. and Historia 24, 1975, 603ff. (dismissing the possibility of joint manumission before 161); Weaver 58ff., 66ff.; Boulvert (2) 61ff.	Conimbriga: Lusitania A B H
1608	Aelius Ianuarius (Secundi Aug. lib.) libertus 10.1742 See 1743: (Aelius) Secundus (5)	Puteoli: I G
1609	P. Aelius Aug. lib. Inachus 6.10849 D M / AELIAE ARTEMIDORAE VIXIT / ANNIS II MENSIBUS II DIEB XII / P AELIUS AUG LIB INACHUS ET AELIA / MAXIMILLA PARENTES FIL DULC / FECERUNT	Rome A B H
1610	P. Ael(ius) Aug. lib. lobacchus 6.10235 = D 8364 D M / P AEL AUG LIB IOBACCHUS FECIT ET / PEDATURAM DEDIT ANTE TITUL P XXX / ANTE FRONTE P XXX ET IN AGRO QUOQ / (5) P CENTENOS YACINTHO(!) VERNA SUO / ET SIBI LIBER LIB LIBERTABUS suis POS/TERISQUE EORUM. EXCIPIT ITUS ACTUS / ADITUS AMBITUS ITEM AQUAE AERAM / FUNEM PISTRINI FURNI VIRGAR LIGNI /(10) SACRIFICIIS FACIUNDIS ET CETERA QUAE / IN LEGE PUBLICA CONTINENTUR. HOC MO/NUMENTUM HEREDEM NON SEQUITUR. / H M D M A. B M M C / ORFITO ET PRISCO COS *4: 'quoq(uoversus)' = 'in each direction'; 8: 'aera(menta)' = 'bronze vessels'; 13: 'b(ene) m(erenti) m(emoriae) c(ausa)?' cf. D ad loc.; 7-9: 'excipit(ur) itus ... ligni' [construe??] cf. 6.19949: 'C. Iulius Epaphroditus fecit sibi ... itum aditum ambitum et ceteris omnibus ex lege plena ut praestentur'; 9.5450 = D 7248: '... lege publica, ut liceat itum aditum ambit(um) haustum aquae ligna sumere'.	Rome AD 149 b M N

1611	<p>Irenaeus (1) Aug. lib. (1) 3.12237 TERMINI / POSITI AB / IRENAEO AUG / LIB PROC [in]TER / CL R[---]U[---] / CI[-]ORCENOS *5: 'Sibidund[---]' Ramsay.</p> <p>(2) Fant, p. 252, no. 1 = D.8716a = Bruzza no. 258 (a) L AELIO / CAESARE N III ET BAL/BINO COS RATIONI / URBICAE SUB CUR(a) IRENAEI / (5) AUG LIB PROC CAESURA TULLI / SATURNINI ꝑ LEG(ionis) XXII PRIM(igeniae) (b) OFF(icina) PA(pia) / N(umero) LXXVI (c) / LOCUS N II(?)CIA / LOC XVI B</p>	Metropoli s: Asia I Rome AD 136 F I N R
	<p>(3) Fant, p. 253, no. 2 = D.8716b = Bruzza no. 259 (b) [L] AELIO CAESARE N III L/ ET BALBINO COS R<a>TIONI / URBICAE SUB CUR(a) IREN/[a]EI AUG LIB PROC CAESURA / (5) [tu]LLI SATURNINI ꝑ LEG(ionis) / XXII PRIM(igeniae) (c) OFF(icina) PAPI(a) / N(umero) XCIV / LOCO XX</p>	Rome AD 136 F I N R
	<p>*All three inscriptions come from the same area of Phrygia in the vicinity of Synnada, the administrative centre of the imperial marble quarries at Docimium. The imperial freedman procurator Irenaeus in (1), who made a boundary determination between two presumably local communities (but, according to Ramsay's text, perhaps including Sibunda, some distance to the south in Pisidia), is clearly the same as the procurator recorded on (2) and (3), two pillars of Docimium marble, dated to 136, exported to Rome and now in the Lateran. Unusual features on these quarry inscriptions from Asia, noted by Fant (p. 253-4), indicating that the inscriptions were inscribed away from the quarries at Docimium, are the shipping numbers —2(b)2; 3(c)3—probably added at the administrative headquarters at Synnada, the listing of the procurator in charge ('sub cura Irenaei'), and the naming of the destination in Rome to which the quarried marble was being sent (<i>ratio urbica</i>), likely to be the administration of the department in charge of public works (<i>ratio operum publicorum</i>) (see Fant p. 252).</p>	
	<p>On the organisation of the Roman imperial quarries at Docimium in Phrygia, in general, see especially Fant 17-32, and on their operations in the Antonine period, id. 33-48, including the role and status of the letter cutters 39-41; cf. Hirschfeld 164, 169, 177.</p>	
1612	<p>Aelius Irenaeus (2) (Aug. lib.) 14.3636 = D1584 = <i>I.lt.</i> IV 4. 1.176 D M / AELIO PROBO AUG LIB / AELIUS IRENAEUS COM/ME VILLAE TIBURTIS / AMICO ET COLLIB / B M F *4: 'comme(ntariensis)'. An <i>Augusti libertus</i>, despite omission of imperial status indication, both as 'collibertus' of Aelius Probus(2) (1705), and as a <i>commentariensis</i> at Hadrian's villa at Tibur.</p>	Tibur: I F I
1613	<p>Aelia Laenilla Aug. lib. 10.5915 = D 6265 AELIE LAENIL/LAE AUG LIB MATRI / RAGI BI[t]HYNICI / XX VIR ET HONORATI / OB MERITA EIUS</p>	Anagnia : I B K
1614	<p>P. Aelius Aug. I. Liberalis (1) 6.11814 D M / ANNIAE PYRA/LLIDI P AELIUS / AUG L LIBERALIS / COIUGI KARIS/SIMAE B M</p>	Rome A
1615	<p>P. Aelius Aug. lib. Liberalis (2) 14.2045 = D 1534; cf. <i>PIR</i>² A 209</p>	Laurente

	P AELO AUG LIB / LIBERALI / PROCURATORI ANNONAE / OSTIENSIS PROCURATORI / PUGILLATIONIS ET AD NAVES / (5) VAGAS TRIBUNICIO COLLEGI / MAGNI DECURIALI DECURIAE / VIATORIAE CONSUL DECURIALI / GERULORUM PRAEPOSITO MENSAE / (9) NUMMUL F F OST ORNATO ORNA/MENTIS DECURIONATUS COL OST / PATRONO / LAURENTIUM VICI AUGUSTANOR	s vico Augustan o : I I K Q
	*4-5: ‘procurator pugillationis et ad naves vagas’, a one-off post involving registration of shipping; see Mommsen 2. 1030 n. 3; 8-9: ‘mensae nummul(ariae) f(isci) f(rumentarii) Ost(iensis)’.. On the administrative career of Liberalis at Ostia, see Boulvert (1) 232 n. 184; 269-70 +nn. 45, 48; 283 n. 132. On the apparitorial <i>decuriales</i> , <i>viatores</i> and <i>geruli</i> (bearers/porters?), see esp. Purcell 128ff.	
1616	T. Aelius Aug. lib. Libycus 8.13188 = D 1498 = <i>ILT</i> 916 D M S / T AELIUS AUG LIB / LIBYCUS ADIUT / TABUL AD MEN / THISIDUENSI VIX / ANN LXXVIII / H S E 3-5: ‘adiut(or) tabul(ariorum) a men(sa) Thisiduensi’; cf. 1559*: T. Aelius Fortunatus (3). For a list of such junior personnel in local financial offices in Africa, see Boulvert (1) 220-1. 111. Like several other imperial freedmen in the African provinces, length of life (78 years), while it eventually brought manumission, did not also bring promotion beyond the junior level or appointment elsewhere in the empire.	Carthage: Africa H I M
1617	T. Aelius Aug. lib. Longus 6.10728 D M / T AELO AUG LIB LONGO / MARITO INCOMPARABILI / AURELIA MARTHA ET / (5) AELIA ANTIGONA ET LONGINUS / PATRI PISSIMO FECERUNT ET SIBI / LIBERTIS LIBERTABUSQUE SUIS / POSTERISQUE EORUM H M E H N S / IN FRONT P XIII IN AGR P XLI *8: ‘h(oc) m(onumentum) e(xterum) h(ereditem) n(on) s(equetur)’.	Rome A B
1618	[Aelius?] Aug. lib Lucianus 6.8569 = D 1481; cf. <i>PIR</i> ² L 371 D[m] / T AEL AUG LIB SATURO PROC PR[ovin ---] / ET FL MYSTICILLAE EIUS PISSIMIS [--- curante ---] / AUG LIB LUCIANO PROC PROVIN NARBONENSIS M[---] *4: ‘piissimis [parentibus et ---]’ Dessau. On freedman <i>procuratores provinciae</i> and careers leading to such senior posts, see Weaver 270ff.; Boulvert (1) 387ff.	Rome A F I
1619	T. Aelius Aug. lib. Lucifer 11.1452 = <i>I.lt.VII</i> 1.14 D M / T AELIUS AUG / LIB LUCIFER / VIBUS SIBI / POSUIT	Pisa: VII +
1620	P. Aelius Aug. lib. Lycus (1) 6.8983 = D 1832 D M / P AELIUS AUG LIB / LYCUS PAEDAGOG / PUERORUM A CAPUT AFRICAS(!) / [---] * On imperial <i>paedagogi</i> and the <i>ad Caput Africæ</i> , see Mohler 264ff.	Rome I
1621	P. Aelius Aug. lib. Lycus (2) 6.10730 D M / P AELIUS AUG LIB LYCUS / FECIT SIBI ET SUIS ET / AELIAE SOZUSAE CONIUGI / (5) DE SE BENE MERITAE ET / P AELIO LUPO FILIO SUO / ET LIBERTIS LIBERTABUSQ / POSTERISQUE EORUM / HOC M H NON SEQ	Rome A B

1622	T. Aelius Aug. lib. M[---] 6.8746 D M / C VARICIO IANU[a]rio / PATRI C VARICIU[s] / ET SUIS ET SIBI LIB LI[bertab(us)]/Q POSTERISQ EO[rum] / ITEM T AELIUS AUG LIB M[---] / PRAEPOSITUS CELLARIO[rum] / ET SUIS LIBERTIS LIBER[tabusq] / POSTERISQUE EOR[um] <i>*On the rank of <i>praepositus</i> in the hierarchy of the domestic service from the late Flavian period, see Boulvert (1) 239f. nn. 241-262; Weaver 228. The <i>cellarii</i> were responsible for keeping provisions, both food and wine, in the household; cf. Columella 11.1 19. The relationship of the imperial freedman with the two Varicci, father and son, is unclear, in view of the repeated formula 'et suis libertis etc.'</i>	Rome F I
1623	Aelia Magna (Victoris Augusti lib.) lib. 8.8996 See [1803]	Rusuccu- ru: Maur, Caesar.
1624	Aelius Manius Aug. lib. AE 1929, 24 IUNIAE L F PROCULAE / QUAE EGNUAR AEI/US MANIUS AUG LIB / CARISSIMAE UXORI / MEMORIAE CAUSA <i>*Note the personal nomenclature of both husband and wife: the common <i>praenomen</i> 'Manius' is occasionally used as a slave or freedman <i>cognomen</i>, (cf. Kajanto 40, 173), but only here in the Fam. Caes. material. His freeborn wife, Iunia L. f. Procula quae (et) Egnuar(ia), shows an early example of a 'detached' <i>supernomen</i>, mostly found in lower-class epitaphs. See above under P. Aelius Felix (4) qui et Novellius Aug. lib. (1543).</i>	Iconium: Galatia A
1625	P. Aelius Aug. lib. Mansuetus 6.20579 D M / IULIAE NICE / P AElius AUG LIB / MANSUETUS / CONIUGI PIENTISSIM / ET T IULIUS PONTIANUS F / T IULIUS EUHemer LIB / HEREDES <i>*The praenomen 'T(itus)' of the son Pontianus and of the freedman Euhemer, two heirs of Mansuetus' wife Iulia Nice, preclude her descent from the freed Iulii of the early 1st century.</i>	Rome A B g
1626	P. Aelius Aug. lib. Mariensis 6.10666 See 1478: P. Aelius Aug. lib. Cladus. On the early manumission of Mariensis, at age 20 or younger, see 1478*	Rome C E H
1627	P. Aelius Augustor(um) lib. Marinus (1) 6.9056 P AElio / AUGUSTOR LIB / MARINO TABUL / ULPIA MARIANE / CONIUGI PIENTISSIMO / FECIT <i>* On the status indication 'Augustorum libertus' of freedmen of Hadrian and on the general question of <i>Augustorum liberti</i>, in particular those manumitted before 161, see note under 1548: P. Aelius Augustorum Felix (9); see also Chantraine 225ff. and <i>Historia</i> 24, 1975, 603ff. (dismissing the possibility of joint-manumission before this date); Weaver 58ff., 66ff.; G Fabre, <i>REA</i> 75, 1973, 111-25; Boulvert (2) 61ff.</i>	Rome A I
1628	L. Aelius Aug. lib. Marinus (2) 6.18457 D M / FLAVIAE VALENTINAE / L AElius AUG LIB / MARINUS / UXORI SANCTISSIMAE / ET SIBI ET SUIS POSTERISQ / EORUM FECIT <i>*Marinus was manumitted either (1) by L. Verus between 138 and 161, when he was L. Aelius Aurelius Commodus, prior to his becoming joint-Augustus with</i>	Rome A

	Marcus Aurelius (161-169), when he took the name L. Aurelius Augustus Verus; or (2) by the emperor L. Aurelius Commodus, who between 190 and 192 took the name L. Aelius Aurelius Commodus Augustus. In this case (1) is more likely, given the much longer timespan available for manumission, but the inscription would date from 161 or later, in a manner similar to that of the T. Aurelii Aug. lib. under Hadrian and Antoninus, noted above (1432: T. Aurelius Anicetus Aug. lib.). Cf. Weaver 26f. and Chantraine 63f.	
1629	P. Aelius Aug. lib. Martialis (1) 6.10734 D M / P AELIO AUG / LIB MARTI/ALI PAREN/TI SANCTIS/SIMO / DEMETRIUS / AUG VERNA / POSUIT *4: Does 'parenti' = 'patri', or is a more distant family relationship indicated here? Cf. Wilkinson,	Rome B
1630	Aelius Martialis (2) Aug. lib. 6.27099 D M / TALLIONE / AELIUS MARTIALIS / AUG LIB / B M FECIT	Rome F
1631	T. (Aelius) Aug. I. Martialis (3) 6.34244 D M / T AUG L MARTI/ALI ET AELIAE / TEUTHRANTID / LIBERTAE AEL / OPTATA PA/TRONA B M F *While it can be assumed that T. Martialis is a freedman of Antoninus Pius, and Aelia Teuthrantis is the freedwoman of Aelia Optata, the relationship of Martialis to either woman is not specified. Is either his spouse?	Rome a F G
1632	P. Aelius Aug. lib. Martialis (4) 6.37930 D M / P AELIO AUG / LIB MARTI/ALI PA[tri/trono? ---]	Rome b/g
1633	[A]elius Maurus (freedman of Phlegon, a freedman of Hadrian) <i>HA: Septimius Severus</i> 20.1 legisse me apud <A>elium Maurum Phlegontis Hadriani libertum memini Septimum Severum immoderatissime, cum moreretur, laetatum quod duos Antoninos pari imperio rei publicae relinqueret, exemplo Pii, qui Verum et Marcum Antoninos per adoptionem filios rei publicae reliquit. *PIR ² A 220; see also 1686: (P. Aelius) Phlegon (<i>PIR</i> ¹ P 291). The question arises of the age of Maurus at the time he wrote his work quoting the deathbed remark of Septimius Severus who died in 211. His former master Phlegon was manumitted by Hadrian no later than 138, and probably somewhat earlier, given the literary relationship between the two, if he was instructed to publish Hadrian's autobiography under his own name, as claimed in <i>HA Hadrian</i> 16.1). Phlegon was thus born c.110, even if manumitted in his early 20s. If he was as old as 60 when he in turn freed Maurus at the early age of 20, the latter was born c.150 and was himself approaching 70 when he was writing after the death of Severus. A remarkable literary succession for the two across nearly a century, even given the <i>Historia Augusta</i> sources involved.	Hadrian G
1634	P. Aeli[us Aug. lib?] Maxim[us] (1) 6.29117 ULPI [---] / P AELI[us aug lib?] / MAXIM[us et sibi et] / LIB ERTIS [libertabusque] [d] M / [---]ATUS ET / [--- c]OIUX / [poster]ISQUE SUIS	Rome A f
1635	Aelius Maximus (2)Augustorum libertus 15.7374 AEILI MAXIMI AUGUSTORUM LIBERTI * <i>Fistula plumbea</i> . On the general question of <i>Augustorum liberti</i> , and in particular those manumitted before 161, see note above under 1548: P. Aelius	Rome P

	Augustorum lib. Felix; see also esp. Chantraine 225ff. and <i>Historia</i> 24, 1975, 603ff. (dismissing the possibility of joint-manumission before this date); Weaver 58ff., 66ff.; G Fabre, <i>REA</i> 75, 1973, 111-25; Boulvert (2) 61ff.	
1636	P. Aelius Aug. lib. Melitinus 6.8857 D M / P AELIUS AUG LIB MELITINUS / INVITATOR FECIT SIBI ET AELIAE / SEVERAE / UXORI KARISSIMAE / LIB LIBERTABQ MEIS POSTERIS/QUE EORUM EXCEPTO EUTY/CHE LIB MEO CUIUS NEQUE COR/PUS NEQUE OSSA IN HOC MONIMENTO / INFERRI VOLO * <i>Invitator</i> : a domestic official responsible for invitations to dine at the imperial table (other examples at Boulvert (1) 238 n. 229). . Note the negative invitation to his freedman Eutyches (1524)!	Rome A G I
1637	P. Aelius Aug. lib. Menander 3.14606 = AE 1901, 25 D M / FL ATALANTES / VIX ANN L / P AELIUS AUG / LIB MENANDER / 7 OFFICINAR / CONIUG PIENTIS / B M / H S E * 6: '(Centurio) officinar(um)'. <i>Officinae</i> are the workshops where the various mining processes were carried out at the imperial mines, directed by the 3 rd century in the iron mines in Dalmatia by <i>vilici</i> , who are regularly slaves (e.g. 3.13239, 13240). The peculiarity in the present case is the use of the symbol '7' which indicates the military rank of <i>centurio</i> , otherwise unprecedented for imperial freedmen outside of the navy. Boulvert, (1) 291 n. 178, suggests this is wrongly used for the usual term ' <i>vilicus</i> '. Very occasionally freedmen <i>vilici</i> are found elsewhere in the imperial service(e.g. 1066: Flavius Aug. [lib. ---]; 1450: P. Aelius Barbarus; cf. Boulvert (1) 198f. n. 735).	Rudnica : Dalmatia A H I
1638	P. Aelius Aug. lib. Menophilus 6.4228 See 1276*: M. Ulpius Menophilus.	Rome AD 126 A B N Q
1639	Μεσομήδης ἀπελεύθερος Ἀδριανοῦ (1) <i>Suidae Lexicon</i> m 668 (Adler 3, p. 367, 8-14) Μεσομήδης, Κρής, λυρικός, γεγονώς ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀδριανοῦ χρόνων, ἀπελεύθερος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα φίλος. γράφει οὖν εἰς Ἀντίνοον ἔπαινον, ὃς ἦν Ἀδριανοῦ παιδικά· καὶ ἄλλα διάφορα μέλη.	K O fl. AD 144
	(2) Cassius Dio 78.13.7 (Exc. Val. 376, p. 749) = <i>Suid. m 668</i> (above) ὅτι (ό 'Αντωνῖνος [Caracalla]) τὸ τοῦ Σύλλου μνημέτον ἀναζητήσας ἐπεκέύασε, τῷ τε Μεσομήδει τῷ τοὺς κιθαρῳδικοὺς νόμους συγγράψαντι κενοτάφιον ἔχωσε, τῷ μὲν ὅτι καὶ κιθαρῳδεῖν ἐμάνθανεν, ἐκείνῳ δὲ ὅτι τὴν ὡμότητα αὐτοῦ ἐζήλου.	
	(3) <i>HA Antoninus Pius</i> 7.7-8 salaria multis subtraxit quos otiosos videbat accipere, dicens nihil esse sordidius, immo crudelius, quam si rem publicam is adroderet qui nihil in eam suo labore conferret. unde etiam Mesomedi lyrico salarium inminuit.	
	(4) Eusebius, <i>Chronicon</i> = Hieronymus, p. 202, 22/3 Helm ² * <i>PIR</i> ² M 503; <i>RE</i> ; <i>OCD</i> ³ 962-3. Cf. D. A. Russell (ed.), <i>Antonine Literature</i> (1990), 85-90 (Bowie), O. Musso, <i>ZPE</i> 120, 1998, 35-8.	

1640	T. Aelius Aug. lib. Mithres 6.22987 D M / NINIAE MARCELLAE / CONIUGI KARISSIMAE / T AElius AUG LIB MITHRES / FECIT / SIBI ET SUIS LIBER LIBERTABQ / POSTERISQ EORUM / IN F P VIII IN A P VIII	Rome A
1641	P. Aelius Mnesitheus Aug. lib. 6.10740a P AElius MNE/SITHEUS AUG / LIB ET AELIA / TATIS COIUX / EIUS HIC / CONDITI / SUNT *Tatis as cognomen ...	Rome A
1642	Μηστήρ Σεβαστοῦ ἀπελεύθερος CIG 2.1813b = LBW 2.1076 = D 8849 "Ωλω Ὁφε[λ]λίω Μ[α]ιω[ρι] Μακεδόνι] ἐπάρχω σπ[είρης] ἔκτης πραιτωρίας χειλι[άρχω] λεγιῶνος α Μινερβίας ε[ύσε]βούς πιστῆς ἐπιτρόπῳ Σε[βασ]τοῦ Ἡπείρου ἐπιτρόπῳ ἐ[παρ]χείας Πόντου καὶ Βιθυνί[ας] ἐπιτρόπῳ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπολα[ύ]σεων Σεβαστοῦ (10) Μηστήρ Σεβαστοῦ ἀπελεύθερος βοηθός αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸ [ψη]φισμα τῆς βουλῆς τὸν ἔδιον εὐεργέτην *11: βοηθός αὐτοῦ i.e. <i>adiutor (procuratoris)</i> , an assistant of the equestrian Offelius Maior Macedo, with whom he had some degree of personal relationship (cf. τὸν ἔδιον εὐεργέτην). The latter held three equestrian procuratorial posts, including one in the province of Epirus, all under Hadrian (Pflaum (2), No. 112, pp. 272-4). Mnester was probably himself of procuratorial rank and the freedman member of an equestrian-freedman pair working together as provincial procurators. On <i>adiutores procuratoris</i> , see Weaver 231-6, and on the dual system of equestrian-freedman provincial procurators, id. 276ff., and esp. Boulvert (1) 270ff.	Nicopolis: (Epirus) AD117- 138 F I K
1643	Titus Aelius Montanus Aug. lib. 6.8424a = D 1706 D M / TITO AElio MONTANO AUG / LIB OPTIONI TABELL ARI/ORUM OFFICI RATIONUM / QUI VIX IT ANNIS LV MEN/SIBUS III DIEBUS III *On the status of <i>tabellarii</i> (messengers, postmen), and their supervisors (<i>praepositi, optiones</i>), see Pflaum (1) 320ff.; Boulvert (1) 185-7; cf. 121 n. 189; Weaver 227-8. On their function, distinct from that of <i>cursores</i> and the <i>cursus publicus</i> , and lack of a centralised directorate, see Pflaum and Boulvert, loc.citt.	Rome H I
1644	P. Aelius Aug. lib. Musicus (1) 6.10682 = D 8227 See commentary on 1508: P. Aelius Erasinus.	Rome C D M
1645	T. Aelius Aug. lib. Musicus (2) 8.3616 = p 1742 D M S / T FL APOLLINARIS / V A LXXV / T AElius AUG LIB / MUSICUS AMICO / CARISSIMO BENE / MERENTI DE SUO / FECIT	Lambaei s: Numidia F H M
1646	Π. Αἴλιος Μύρων Σεβ. ἀπελεύθερος Fouilles de Delphes III 4.445 [Αγαθὴ] τύχη [Δε]λφοὶ ἔδωκαν Π. Αἴλιος Μύρωνι Σεβ [ἀ]πελεύθερο] ἐπιτρόπῳ Βοιωτίας πολειτεία[ν] καὶ βουλευτείαν καὶ ἄλλας τειμάσις ἀπάσας ὅσαι τοῖς καλοῖς καὶ ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι δίδονται ἐπὶ [κα]λοκάγαθίᾳ ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος Π. Α]φασίου Καλλικράτους μηνὸς Ἀπελλαίου *PIR ² A 224; see Fouilles de Delphes, loc. cit. for a possible later dating.	Delphi: Achaia AD 135- 145 F I K N

	Myron, as <i>procurator Boeotiae</i> , was a regional procurator, presumably responsible to the provincial procurators for the imperial finances in that part of the proconsular province of Achaia. On the status and duties of freedman procurators in comparable regional and domanial posts in proconsular provinces, e.g. Phrygia in Asia, Theveste in Africa, see Pflaum (2) 745-6; Boulvert (1) 292f., 393ff.; Weaver 270ff.	
1647	[?Aeliu]s Aug. lib. Narcissus 6.8972 = D 1836 [--]S AUG LIB NARCISSUS / [--] NATIONE PARTHUS PAEDAGOGUS / [puero]RUM IMP ET PAPAS GALERIAE / [augustae liber]TAE LYSISTRATES CONCUBINAE / (5) DIVI PII / [--]TORIUM FUNDI PAELIGNIANI / [--]vetu]STATE DILAPSUM A SOLO IMPENSA / [sua r]ESTITUIT / [--]m]ACERIAM A FUNDAMENTIS EXSTRU/[ctam] CIRCUMDEDIT *3: 'papas' = 'paedagogus' OLD 1291 s.v. Galeria Lysistrate was a freedwoman of Faustina Augusta, the wife of Antoninus Pius.	Rome A I K O
1648	Neon (T. Aeli Felicis (3) Aug. lib.) lib. 6.8430 See 1542 (2).	Rome G
1649	P. Ael(ius) Aug. lib. Nica[nor] 6.12504 (a) [d] M / [? flavia]E ASSCLEPIODOTE(!) / [flavia] DAMALE FLAVIA GLY/[---matri] ET P AEL AUG LIB NICA / [nor maritus con]IUGI DULCISSIMAE B M EE(!) / [quae vix an] L M XI D VII ET LIB LIB / [poster]IS QUAE EORUM (b) D M ἐνθάδε κειται δικαιος	Rome A B H
1650	Aelia Nice (T. Aeli Aug. lib. Peregrini lib.) 6.8968 See 1678.	Rome G
1651	P. Aelius Nicephorus Au[g.] liber. 6.10748 D M / P AELIO NICEPHO/RO AU[g] LIBER / VALERIA VENERIA / CONIUGI OPTIMO / B [m] FE[c]	Rome A
1652	T. Aelius Aug. lib. Nices 6.8731 = D1816 See 1425*: T. Aelius Augustorum lib. Amemputus	Rome D F
1653	T. [A]Ιλιος Αύρηλιος Σε[β]αστο[ū] ἀπελεύθερος Ν[ίγε]ρ /IGR 4.544 T. [A]Ιλιος Αύρηλιος Σε[β]αστο[ū] ἀπελεύθερος Ν[ίγε]ρ *The <i>praenomen</i> 'T(itus)' together with the double <i>nomen</i> 'Aelius Aurelius' indicate that Niger was manumitted by Antoninus Pius before his adoption by Hadrian and later added 'Aelius Augusti libertus' after the latter's accession in 138; cf. Chantraine 26; Weaver 26; Boulvert (2) 65 n. 383. Given this <i>praenomen</i> , the additional <i>nomen</i> 'Aurelius' cannot derive from the period after 161. On double <i>nomena</i> with no connecting particle, see Chantraine 96f. + n. 139; Weaver 26ff. The imperial slave Νίγερ νεώτερος ([5549]) the dedicator of another inscription from the same site (IGR 4.543) is evidently not T. Aelius Aurelius Niger prior to manumission but his son.	Nacolea : Asia +
1654	Αἴλιος Νομ[—] (Αἰλίου) Κλω[δι]ανου Σεβ[αστοū] ἀπελευθέρο[ou] ἀπελεύθερος SEG 31, 1981, 1281 See 1480*	Antiochia: Galatia G

1655	<p>[-] Aeli[us] Olymp[--] Aug. lib. 14.4178a [--] / AELI[--] / OLYMP[--] / AUG LIB [-] / ARAM P[os--] / VIA[--]</p>	Civita Lavinia: I K
1656	<p>T. Aelius Aug. lib. Olympas (1) 6.536 = D 3284; cf. 6.30786 NEPTUNO AUG / ET NYMPHIS / SACRUM / T AELIUS AUG LIB / OLYMPAS PROC / VOTUM S L M *6: 's(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)</p>	Rome I L
1657	<p>T. Ael(ius) Aug. lib. Olympas (2) NS 1922, 411 no. 4 D M / PANTHERILLAE FEC DIONYSIUS / T AEL AUG LIB OLYMPAE SER / CONIUG OPT ET SIBI C Q V A XXI / (5) M III D VII LOCO DONATO A SUR/VIA EULOGIA ITO ANBITO DATO / SINE ULLA CONTROBERSIA *6: 'ito ambito', the right to have access to (<i>itus</i>) and walk in (<i>ambitus</i>) the burial site.</p>	Rome G H
1658	<p>T, Aeliu[s] Aug. lib. Olympas (3) H. Solin, <i>Arctos</i> 27, 1993, 128, no.4 = <i>Bull. Com.</i> 94, 1991/2, 411 no. 28 DIS MANIBUS TITI AE[li h]ERMIAE T AELIU[s] AUG LIB OLYMPAS LIB[erto] BENEMERENTI FECIT DONATO LOCO OLLAE AB M ULPIO AGATHOPO</p>	Rome
1659	<p>T. A[elius] Olympus Aug. lib. <i>Epigr.</i> 16, 1954, 33 [--] FECIT T A[elius] / OLYMPUS AUG LIB / C BEN MER *3; 'c(onugi) ben(e) mer(enti)'.</p>	Rome a
1660	<p>T. Αἰ(λιος) Ὄνησας Σεβαστοῦ ἀπελεύθερος Moretti 292 = IG 14 *276 Θ K T Αἴλ Όνησας Σεβαστοῦ ἀπελεύθερος Σουλπικία Μαργαρίδι σ(υ)νβί(ω) ἀγαθή καὶ αὐτῶ καὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις καὶ ἀπελευθέροις καὶ ἀπελευθέρεσ(!!) καὶ τοῖς μετ' αὐτοὺς μῆκος ποδ η' πλα λ'</p>	Rome A M
1661	<p>P. Ael(ius) Onesimus (1) Aug. li[b]. 3.6998 = D 7196 = MAMA 5.202 (AD117-38) KAPUT EX TESTAMENTO P AEL ONESIMI AUG LI[b] / CIVITATI NACOLENSIUM PATRIAE MEAE AMANTISSIMAE QUAMVIS P[lu]/ RIMUM DEBEAM PRO MEDIOCRITE TAMEN PECULIOLI MEI DARI VOLO / HS CC N EA CONDICONE UTI ARBITRATU CORNELI [--]INI ET CORNELI [he]/SYCI FAENERETUR EA PECUNIA ET EX USURIS Q[uod conf]ECTUM FUERIT P[ro]XIMO TRIENNIO IN SITONICO TRIBUANT UT Q[uo]D[q]UOD ANNIS POSSIT E[o] / FRUMENTUM COMPARARI ET PERACTO TRIENNIO VOLO EIUS OMNIS PE/CUNIAE USURAS QUODQUOD ANNIS CIVIBUS MEIS DIVIDI POLITOGRAP[hia] / FACTA DIE FELICISSIMO NATALI DOMINI N TRAIANI HADRIANI SPORT[u]/LI[S] AUTEM PARTEM DIMIDIAM EIUS USURAE TRIBUI VOLO SIC UT [p]AR[s] / DIMIDIA DIE FESTO EORU[m quae ---]IDIA APPELLANTUR ER[ogetu]R[--]</p>	Nacolea: Phrygia AD 117- 138 F K N O
	<p>*2: a rare reference to the 'patria' of an <i>Augusti libertus</i>, notwithstanding the statement of Hermogenianus (<i>Dig.</i> 50, 1. 23.pr.) that freedmen of a person of senatorial rank are made citizens of the <i>municipium</i> from which their patron originates. Cf. the dedication of Vespasian's freedman, T Flavius Helius (887) to 'Zeus Bennios of his native land, Agrostea and Zbourea and his ancestral gods'—Διὶ Βεννίῳ τῆς ἔαυτοῦ πατρίδος Ἀγροστεων καὶ Ζβουρηας καὶ τοῖς πατρίοις</p>	

	ΘΕΟῦΣ (T. Drew-Bear & C. Naour, <i>ANRW</i> II 18.3. 1967-77, no. 15, lines 11.13; cf. id. 1977-81, no. lines 10-13). As in the case of Helius, apart from making his local origin clear, this also suggests that Onesimus himself was freeborn.	
1662	P. Aelius Aug. I. Onesimus (2) 6.975 = 31218 = D 6073 See 951*: T. Flavius Onesimus (1).	Rome AD 136 F K I N Q
1663	P. Aelius Aug. lib. Onesimus (3) 6.8579 = D 1494 D M / P AEI AUG LIB / ONESIMI / TABUL PROV IUDIAE *On imperial freedmen <i>tabularii provinciae</i> , senior clerical officials found in both imperial and consular provinces, see Boulvert (1) 115-17; on their chronological distribution and status significance, see Weaver 245-9.	Rome I
1664	P. Ael(ius) Aug. lib. Onesimus (4) 6.10234 = D 7213; cf. <i>AE</i> 1982, 17 See 1160: M. Ulpius Capito; 1794: P. Aelius Zeno *Onesimus, with C. Salvius Seleucus, was <i>curator</i> of the <i>collegium Aesculapi et Hygiae</i> . The inscription consists of the regulations that governed the gift to the <i>collegium</i> in memory of her imperial freedman husband M. Ulpius Capito by the freeborn Salvia Marcellina, and by his imperial freedman brother P. Aelius Zeno.	Rome AD 153 E F I K N Q
1665	P. Aelius Aug. lib. Onesimus (5) 6.10752 D M / P AEI AUG LIB ONESIMI / ET ULPIAE FEL IU[-]AE / ET M ULPI POTITI / ET ULPI BASSI ANNAEA / T TEABALIUS(?) / [--] *3: 'Feli(c)u[ll]ae'.	Rome a b
1666	P. Aelius Aug. lib. Onesimus (6) 6.29358 D M / ULPIAE HEL/PIDI COIUGI SUAE / BENEMERENTI / ET SIBI ET SUIS / FECIT P AElius / AUG LIB ONE/SIMUS	Rome A
1667	Publius Aelius Aug. lib. Onesimus (7) <i>AE</i> 1948, 103 D M / PUBLI AEI / AUG LIB / ONESIMI / TABULARI / PORTUS / UTRIUSQUE *6-7: 'portus utriusque' refers to Trajan's new port as well as the one at Ostia itself. The office in which Onesimus held the post of <i>tabularius</i> was under a freedman <i>procurator portus utriusque</i> responsible for the general administration of both ports, and was distinct from that of the equestrian <i>procurator annonae</i> (or <i>ad annonam Ostiis</i>) which, under the direction of the <i>praefectus annonae</i> in Rome, had charge of the corn supply through Ostia and Portus. See esp. Boulvert (1) 267-70.	Rome I
1668	T. Aelius Aug. lib. Onesimus (8) 14.1796 = <i>IPO</i> 160 D M / ULPIA IANVARIA / FECIT SIBI ET / T AELIO AUG LIB ONESIMO / CONIUGI OPTIMO / LIBERTIS LIBERTABUSQ / SUIS ET EIUSDEM ONESIMI / POSTERISQUE EORUM	Ostia: I A M
1669	(Aelius) Onesimus (9) (Aeli [A]ug.lib. [Chr]ysanthi) libertus <i>AE</i> 1950, 171 See 1475*: Aelius Chrysanthus (3).	Buthrotum Epirus F G

1670	T. Aelius Aug. lib. Onesiphorus 6.10753 D M / T AELIUS AUG LIB ONESIPHORUS / SE VIVO COMPARAVIT SIBI ET LIBERIS / SUIS ET LIBERTABUSQ POSTERISQ / EORUM	Rome +
1671	P. Aelius Optatus Aug. lib. 8.24702 DIS MANIB SACR / P AELIUS OPTATUS / AUG LIB TABULAR / PIUS VIXIT ANN XXX / HSE PIA SOROR FEC *The <i>tabularii</i> , normally recently manumitted freedmen, were of intermediate clerical status. For their age data: Weaver 241f.; on their functions: Boulvert(1) 420ff., Hirschfeld 460 f.	Carthago: Africa D H I M
1672	P. Aelius Aug. lib. Orestes 6.8648 P AELIUS AUG LIB ORESTES / PRAEPOSITUS OPIFICIBUS / DOMUS AUGUSTIANAE ET / LICINIA PRIMILLA FECERUNT / LICINIO PROCESSO VERNAE SUO / QUI VIX ANN V DIEB VIII ET SIBI ET SUIS / LIBERTIS LIBERTABUSQ POSTERISQ EORUM *Orestes was supervisor of the <i>opifices</i> , the general body of artisans in the Palatine domestic service. On such freedman <i>praepositi</i> : Boulvert (1) 239-41. Licinius Processus, the child to whom Orestes and Licinia Primilla make this joint dedication, already at the early age of five has a <i>nomen</i> , the same as that of Primilla who is likely to be his foster mother or his patron or perhaps both, whether she is freed or freeborn. Given the plural verb 'fecerunt', however, the reflexives in 'verna suis' and 'sibi et suis libertis', can (or should) apply to both dedicants, not to Primilla only. It is then less likely that Licinius Processus was born her slave. He may be freeborn and 'verna' here a term of endearment, ' <i>their</i> fosterling', On the general question of <i>vernae</i> in the structure of the Roman family, see especially Beryl Rawson's study of the inscriptional evidence in B. Rawson, <i>The Family in Ancient Rome: New Perspectives</i> (London & Sydney, Crook Helm 1986), 186-97. For the range of meanings of 'verna': <i>OLD</i> 2037-8; Chantraine 170-1;	Rome a b h I
1673	P. Aelius Aug. lib. Pantagathus 6.10755 D M / P AELIUS AUG LIB / PANTAGATHUS FECIT / SIBI ET FLAVIAE PLUTIDI / ET FLAVIAE AGATHEMERIDI / ET LIBERTIS LIBERTABUSQUE / POSTERISQUE AEORUM	Rome A E
1674	T. Aelius Aug. lib. Paris (1) NS 1917, 291, no. 7 TI CLAUDIO AUG / LIB EUTRAPELO / PATRI PISSI/MO ET DULCIS/SIMO T AELIUS / AUG LIB PARIS / FILIUS B M F (2) NS 1917, 291, no. 6 D M TI CL AUG L PARIDI TAB TI CL EUTRAPELUS ET TI CL FRUCTUS PATRONO B M FECER POSTERISQUE SUOR	Rome C Rome G
	 *(1) presents another instance of an imperial freedman (Claudius Eutrapelus) manumitted by Claudius or Nero found in the same inscription as one manumitted 70 years or more later by Antoninus Pius (Aelius Paris). (See the commentaries under 355: Ti. Claudius Avitus = [1685]; T. Aelius Theodotus, and 373: Ti. Claudius Censorinus = 1604: P. Aelius Ianuarius.) The case of Paris, however, differs from the others in that (a) two brothers (who must be roughly contemporary) are not involved, as is the problem with Claudius Avitus and Aelius Theodotus; (b) the <i>nomina</i> of the father and son here are in their natural chronological order (Claudius – Aelius), not in the reverse	

	order, as with Aelius Ianuarius (father) and Claudius Censorinus (son); (c) the mother of Aelius Paris is not recorded. If, as is natural to assume, she was an imperial slave at the time of his birth, her possible freeborn origin and status, and hence the question of her enslavement under the provisions of the the SC <i>Claudianum</i> of AD 52 for cohabiting with an imperial slave, do not arise.	
	In this case, the difference is the status of the father of Aelius Paris, Claudius Eutrapelus, the freedman of an imperial freedman (<i>Augusti liberti libertus</i>) who later became an imperial freedman in his own right as Ti. Claudius Aug. lib. Eutrapelus (see the commentary on 442). His first patron Ti. Claudius Aug. I. Paris (from whom T. Aelius Paris derived his <i>cognomen</i>), could easily have lived till the end of the 1st C. and, if he manumitted Eutrapelus late in his life or in his will, the latter could have lived another 40 years into the reign of Antoninus Pius. But even such longevity by his father or his father's patron would not have been necessary. His son Paris, to have been manumitted at the normal age of 30 by Antoninus, would then have been born in the first decade of the 2nd C. to a female slave of Trajan. It is chronologically improbable, however, that Aelius Paris could have been an <i>alumnus</i> of Claudius Paris. (See Chantraine 83-6.)	
1675	<p>Π. Αἰλίος Παρθενοκλῆς Καίσαρος ἀπελευθέρος <i>AE</i> 1940, 194 = <i>MAMA</i> 6.170</p> <p>Θ Κ Π Αἰλίου Παρθενοκλέους Καίσαρος ἀπελευθέρου εἵματιστοῦ καὶ Αἰλίας Ζωδαρίου τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ [κ]αὶ Νάνας τῆς μῆτρός [α]ὺτοῦ</p> <p>*5-6: εἵματιστής:</p>	Davas: Phrygia, Asia A C I
1676	<p>Aelius [Parthe]nopaeus Augg. lib. 13.1814</p> <p>D M / [aeli?] FESTI AUGG / LIB TABUL XL / [galliar] AELIUS / [parthe]NOPAEUS / AUGG LIB / [p]OSUIT</p> <p>*2: '[Aeli?]. The inscription could well date from after AD 161, but the <i>nomen</i> of his fellow freedman Parthenopaeus together with the intermediate clerical rank of Festus suggest that the latter could also be an Aelius, manumitted by Antoninus.</p> <p>On <i>Augustorum liberti</i> prior to AD 161, see commentary and references at 1548: P. Aelius Felix (9).</p>	Lugdunum: Gallia Lug-dunensis F
1677	<p>P. Aelius Aug. lib. Patroclus 6.10659</p> <p>D M / P AELIO CARICO / P AELIUS AUG LIB / PATROCLUS LIB / BENE MERENTI FEC</p>	Rome G
1678	<p>P. Aelius Aug. lib. Peculiaris 6.37337 = D 9441 = AE 1911, 191</p> <p>D M / EUHELPISTI LIB QUI ET / MANES VIXIT ANNIS XXVII / MENS IIII DIEB XI FLOREN/TES ANNOS MORS SUBITA / ERIPUIT ANIMA INNO/CENTISSIMA QUEM / MEDICI SECARUNT / ET OCCIDERUNT / P AELIUS AUG LIB PECULIARIS / ALUMNO SUO</p> <p>*3: 'Manes' is very rare as <i>cognomen</i>—there are two examples from Rome, 6.10311, 28855, both of freedmen. Solin, (2) 607, classes the name among those of barbarian origin from Asia Minor. As <i>signum</i> (Vidman 288) or <i>supernomen</i>, as here, this appears to be the only example. The unusual order of status indication intervening between <i>cognomen</i> and <i>supernomen</i>—'[Euhelpisti] lib(erti) qui et Manes'—suggests that the word may simply be referring to his departed spirit, dwelling on the premature death of Euhelpistus ; cf. the unusually savage reference to the surgeons involved.</p>	Rome B H M
1679	<p>T. Aelius Aug. lib. Peregrinus 6.8968</p> <p>D M / T AELIO AUG LIB / PEREGRINO PAEDA/GOGO PUERORUM FEC / AELIA NICE PATRONO / B M</p>	Rome G I

	<p>*3-4: 'puerorum', i.e. slaves, especially <i>vernae</i>, of the Fam. Caes. The <i>paedagogi</i>, who are mostly of freed status, are the teaching staff of the imperial school on the Palatine. Cf. 445: Ti. Claudius Eutychus (1). On imperial <i>paedagogi</i> and the <i>paedagogium Palatinum</i>, see Mohler 264ff.; Boulvert (1) 177-8 + nn. 593-604.</p>	
1680	<p>Ael(ius) Perseus (T.Ael.Dionysi Aug.lib.) collibertus 6.10676 See 1491: T. Aelius Dionysius (1).</p>	Rome F
1681	<p>P. Aelius Aug. lib. Phaon 6.10761 D M / P AELIO AUG LIB / PHAONTI ET DOMITIE / EPICTESI COIUGI SANC/TISSIMAE LIB SCRIPSERUNT</p>	Rome A g
1682	<p>Aelia Aug. lib. Philete (1) AE 1973. 224 PHILETO / ET COMICE / CAES SERV / AELIA AUG LIB PHILETE / OPTIMIS PARENTIBUS / P (2) AE 1975. 233 = NS 1898, p. 127 AELIAE / AUG LIB / PHILETE / PURPURIO / [c]ONIUGI BENE / [m]ERENTI ET SIBI / P *(1) 3: 'serv(is)': the parents of the freed Philete are both still imperial slaves. The same is also possible for her husband, Purpurio in (2) 4, a rare and mostly servile <i>cognomen</i> (cf. Vidman 319; Kajanto 230); for the deprecative connotation of the suffix <i>-io</i> in <i>cognomina</i>, Kajanto 120f. For evidence of slaves from imperial estates in the region, see A. Russi, <i>Miscellanea greca et romana</i> IV, 1975, 281-99.</p>	Montemil-one: II C Montemil-one: II A
1683	<p>(Aelius) [Phil?]ippus (Aeli [A]ug.lib. [Chr]ysanthi) libertus AE 1950, 171 See 1475: Aelius Chrysanthus (3).</p>	Buthrotum: Epirus F G
1684	<p>L. Aelius Aug. lib. Philocalus 6.10762 D M S / L AELIUS AUG LIB PHILOCALUS / IDEM DOMINUS PRO PARTE IIII / HUIUS AGRI VIVOS FECIT SIBI ET / POMPEIAE HEROIDI VXORI SANC/TISSIMAE ET LIBERTIS LIBERTA/BUSQUE POSTERISQUE EORUM / [--]T E / [--] *Most likely a freedman of L. Verus, son of L. Aelius Caesar, manumitted between 138 and 161 when Verus, after his adoption by Antoninus Pius, was L. Aelius Aurelius Commodus. The inscription dates from after 161. See Weaver 26-7; Chantraine 63n. 12</p>	Rome A M
1685	<p>P. Aelius Aug. I. Philumenus (1) 6.583 SILVANO SACRUM / P AELIUS AUG L / PHILUMENUS</p>	Rome L
1686	<p>T. Aelius Augustorum lib. Philumenus (2) AE 1973, 69 D M S / AELIAE MAXIMAE QUAE VIXIT ANN XXIII FECIT T AELIUS AUGUSTORUM LIB PHILUMENUS CONIUGI BENEMERENTI ET SIBI ET SUIS LIB LIBERTABUSQUE POSTERISQUE EORUM *See commentary on 1548: P. Aelius Felix (9). On the general question of <i>Augustorum liberti</i>, and in particular those manumitted before 161, see Chantraine 225ff. and <i>Historia</i> 24, 1975, 603ff. (dismissing the possibility of joint-manumission before this date); Weaver 58ff., 66ff.; G Fabre, <i>REA</i> 75, 1973, 111-25; Boulvert (2) 61ff.</p>	Rome A H

1687	<p>(P. Aelius) Phlegon (freeman of Hadrian)</p> <p>(1) <i>HA Hadrian</i> 16.1 famae celebris Hadrianus tam cupidus fuit ut libros vitae suae scriptos a se libertis suis litteratis dederit, iubens ut eos suis nominibus publicarent. nam et Phlegontis libri Hadriani esse dicuntur.</p> <p>1409 <i>HA Severus</i> 20.1 legisse me apud <A>elium Maurum Phlegontis Hadriani libertum memini ...</p> <p>1410 <i>HA Saturninus</i> 7.6 ac ne quis mihi Aegyptiorum irascatur et meum esse credat quod in litteras rettuli, Hadriani epistulam ponam ex libris Phlegontis liberti eius proditam, ex qua penitus Aegyptiorum vita detegitur.</p>	I G I
	1411 Eusebius, <i>Chronicon</i> I p.265 (ed. Schoene)	
	(5) <i>Suda</i> , s.v. Φλέγων	
	* <i>PIR</i> ¹ P291; <i>RE</i> 20.261-4. F.Jacoby, <i>FGrH</i> II no. 257, p.1159f.; II BD 837f., text of surviving fragments of Περὶ θαυμασίων καὶ μακροβίων, on marvels, ghosts, monsters etc. (cf. J.D. Gauger, <i>Chiron</i> 10, 1980, 223-61). Among lost works of Phlegon are his voluminous Ὁλυμπιάδες, in 16 books covering the period from the 1 st (776-773) to the 229 th Olympiad (AD 137-140), i.e. to the death of Hadrian, dedicated to P. Aelius Alcibiades Hadriani Aug. lib. (1420), a <i>cubiculo</i> under Hadrian.	
	Phlegon of Tralles was manumitted by Hadrian no later than 138, and probably somewhat earlier, given the literary relationship between the two, if he was instructed to publish Hadrian's autobiography under his own name, as claimed in <i>HA Hadrian</i> 16.1. He may have been freeborn and later enslaved, but if slave-born, his birth would date from no later than c.110, even if manumitted in his early 20s. See also 1633*: Aelius Maurus, freedman of Phlegon.	
1688	<p>T. Aelius Aug. lib. Phoeb[--] 6.10949 M[--] / AELIAE T F PHOEBI[--] / ANN IIII MENS [--] / T AElius AUG LIB PHOEB[-- et ---] / PARENTES [--] / SIBI ET SUIS LIBERTIS LIBERTABU[sque posterisque eorum] / HUIC MUNIMENTO A VIA PUBLICA [--] / H M H [n s] *7: 'huic munimento a via publica [aditus ambitus debetur]' coni. Huelsen, cf. 10250.</p>	Rome a B H
1689	<p>P. Aelius Aug. lib. Phoebus 6.10655 D M / P AEli CALLINICI / P AElius AUG LIB / PHOEBUS PATER / ET SIBI FECIT</p>	Rome B
1690	<p>T. Aelius Aug. lib. Pinna 6.25718 D M / SABINO QUI / VIX ANN XXI M IX D IIII / T AElius AUG LIB / PINNA FILIO / PIENTISSIMO / BENEMERENTI / FECIT</p>	Rome B H
1691	<p>P. Aelius Aug. lib. Pistus 10.549 = <i>I.lt</i>.1.1.191 D M / P AElio AUG / LIB PISTO / CALLISTUS / COLLIBERTUS / ET FRATER FECIT *The <i>nomen</i> of his freedman brother Callistus (1459), although unstated, is assumed to be 'Aelius'. He was manumitted by Hadrian or Antoninus Pius, rather than Trajan.</p>	Salernum : I D

1692	<p>(P. Aelius) Politicus Aug.lib. 6.10934</p> <p>AELIAE P F MARCIAE / POLITICUS AUG LIB ET FLAVIA / MARCIA PARENTES FILIAE DULCISSIMAE / FECERUNT QUAE VIXIT ANNIS XVIII MENSE I DIEB X[--]</p> <p>*Politicus was almost certainly freed by Hadrian. His <i>praenomen</i> and <i>nomen</i> are deduced from the filiation and <i>nomen</i> of his freeborn daughter, born after his manumission, and are felt to be redundant because of the order of names on the epitaph. Her <i>cognomen</i> derives from her mother, Flavia Marcia, who was also free at the time of her daughter's birth and may well have been freeborn, <i>her nomen</i> inherited from a previous generation in the Fam. Caes. For a clear-cut parallel, cf. 1430: T. Aelius Ampliatus (2), and for further examples and discussion of this pattern, see Weaver 149-50; Boulvert (2) 289-90 + n.166,</p>	Rome A B H
1693	<p>(P. Aelius) Polytimus (P.Aeli Tyranni Augustorum liberti) collibertus <i>Monumenti Antichi</i> 39, 1943, 154 no. 20 See 1778: P. Aelius Tyrannus (1).</p>	Rome F H
1694	<p>T. Aelius Aug. lib. Priamus (1) 6.10770</p> <p>D M / T AELIO AUG LIB PRIAMO / ET SEX CLODIO EUTYCHETI / AMICIS EXIMIAE PIETAT(is) / BENE MERENTIBUS M / LICINIUS HILARUS LOCO / DONATO TITULUM POSUIT</p>	Rome F
1695	<p>T. Aelius Aug. lib. Priamus (2) 6.10900</p> <p>a) D M / AELIAE AUG LIB FELICU/LAE T AELIUS AUG LIB / PRIAMUS CONIUGI / SANCTISSIMAE ET FIDE/LISSIONAE CUM QUA VIXIT / [--] 1401 FORTUNUNA(!) SE VIVA FE[cit] *Possibly the same as T. Aelius Priamus (1) above (1693).</p>	Rome A f
1696	<p>T. Aelius Aug. lib. Primitivus (1) 6.7458 = D 1798</p> <p>T AELIUS AUG LIB PRIMITIVUS / ARCHIMAGIRUS ET / AELIA AUG LIB TYCHE CONIUNX / FECERUNT SIBI ET SUIS LIB LIBERTABUSQ / (5) POSTERISQUE EORUM / CUSTODIA MONIMENTI INHABITANDI NE QUIS INTER/DICERE VELLIT QUOD SI NEMO DE HAC MEMORIA NOSTRA / EXTITERIT PERTINERE DEBEBIT AD COLLEGIUM COCORUM / AUG N QUOD CONSISTIT IN PALATIO QUOD NEQUE DONARI / NEQUE VENIRI PERMITTIMUS QUOD SI QUIS CONTRA / (10) LEGEM S S FECERIT DARE DEBEBIT CORPORI QUI SUNT / IN HAC STATIONEM(!) HS L M(ilia) N(ummum)</p>	Rome A I M Q
	<p>6.8750</p> <p>DIIS MANIBUS / T AELIUS AUG LIB PRIMITIVUS / ARCHIMAGIRU[s] / FECIT AELIA TYCHE ET SIBI ET AELIAE / (5) TYRANNIDI CONIUGI ET LIBERTIS LI/BERTABUSQ MEIS VEL AELIAE TYRAN/NYDIS POSTERISQUE EORUM / CUSTODIA MONIMENTI INHABITANDI NE QUIS / INTERDICERE VELI[t] QUOTSI NEMO DE N(ostra) MEMORIA / (10) EXSTITERIT PERTINEBIT AD COLLEGIUM COCORV[m] / CAESARIS N QUOT VENIRI DONARIVE VETAMUS SI AD/VERSUS EA QUIS FECERIT POENAE NOMINE FERET / ARCAE COCORUM L M N ATE EX USURIS EORUM / CELEBRETUR SUO QUOQ ANNO / [h m] H N S</p>	Rome A I M Q
	<p>*(1) 3-4: 'Aelia Aug. lib. Tyche...libertabusq.' has been erased and replaced in (2) 4-7 'litteris pessimis' with 'fecit Aelia(e?) Tyche...Aeliae Tyrannidis'. This reflects the presumed death of Aelia Tyche and her replacement by Aelia Tyrannis as 'coniunx' of Aelius Primitivus. The subject of the verb 'fecit' in (2) 4 must be Primitivus as sole dedicator (cf. 5: 'meis'), not Aelia Tyche, where the</p>	

	reading should be ‘Aelia(e) Tyche’ (for examples of ‘Tyche’ as well as ‘Tycheni’ as the Dative of ‘Tyche’, see Solin (2) 318-20). Contrast also (1) 4: ‘fecerunt sibi et suis lib(ertis) libertabusq(ue)’ with (2) 4-5: ‘fecit Aelia(e) Tyche et sibi et Aeliae Tyrannidi coniugi et libertis libertabusq(ue) meis vel Aeliae Tyrannidis’.	
	(2) 13-14: ‘ate’ = ἄτη: a penalty in the form of a yearly sacrifice in expiation of any transgression, to be performed by the members of the college and paid for from the interest on their funds; cf. Boulvert (2) 247, n.325. On the religious and funerary functions of private, and particularly professional, colleges or corporations, see the material assembled and discussed in Boulvert (2) 236-50.	
1697	P. Aelius Primus (1) Aug. lib. 6.10775 DIS M / P AELIUS PRIMUS AUG LIB / AELIAE NICENI / CONTUBERNALI PIENTISSIM / ET FRATRI PROTO FECIT *The two brothers ‘Primus’ and ‘Protus’ have <i>cognomina</i> of similar meaning, although presumably both slaveborn in the same family.	Rome A D
1698	T. Aelius Aug. lib. Primus (2) 6.10776 D M / T AELIO AUG LIB / PRIMO PATRI / DULCISSIMO / FLORIDUS ET / TORQUATUS FILI F	Rome B
1699	P. Aelius Aug. lib. Primus (3) 8.12915 D M S / P AELIO AUG LIB PRIMO / FABRO PIO VIX ANNIS / N LXXXIX HSE / AELIA EUTYCHIS / PATRONO MERENT FECIT *Primus was extraordinarily long-lived (94 yrs), even for a freedman. Although manumission and promotion at Carthage was characteristically slow (for the age-at-death data on imperial slaves from Africa, see Weaver 103), this inscription of a non-specialist artisan could be late 2 nd century in date.	Carthage: Africa G H I M
1700	T. Aelius Aug. lib. Princeps 8.27859 = <i>IL Alg.</i> 1. 3131 D M S / T AELIO AUG / LIB PRINCIPI / V A LXXVII / H S E / MARTIALIS [--]	Theveste: Africa F H M
1701	Ael(ius) Priscianus lib. et proc. Augg. 6.9008 D M / AELIA CALPURNI FIL CO/RINTHIAS AEL PRISCIANO / LIB ET PROC AUGG MARITO / INCOMPARABILI ET AEL / MAMERTINO FILIO PISSIMO / FECIT ET SIBI LIBERTIS LI/BERTABUSQ POSTER[isq eor] The inscription is most likely dated post-161.; see 1548*: P. Aelius Felix (8). On the general question of <i>Augustorum/Augg. liberti</i> , and in particular those manumitted before 161, see Chantraine 225ff. and <i>Historia</i> 24, 1975, 603ff. (dismissing the possibility of joint-manumission before this date); Weaver 58ff., 66ff.; G Fabre, <i>REA</i> 75, 1973, 111-25; Boulvert (2) 61ff. For the rare use of ‘Aug./Augg.’ in the occupational nomenclature of imperial freedmen and the controversy over its significance, see Weaver 612; Chantraine, <i>Historia</i> 24, 1975, 613-16.	Rome A B I
1702	T. Αἰλίος Σεβα(στοῦ) ἀπελεύθερος Πρείσχος SEG 39, 1989, 1189 [– Πρόκλου ξυσταρχῶν καὶ νεοποιῶν ἱερατεύσασαν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος εὐσεβῶς (5) καὶ φιλοτείμως καὶ πάντα ἔκτενῶς παρασχούσαν τὰ διδόμενα εἰς τὴν πόλιν δημάρια πεντακισχείλια κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα τῆς βουλῆς (10) δοῦσαν δὲ καὶ τὰς εξ ἔθους διανομάς. ἀναστήσαντος τὴν τειμὴν Τ Αἰλίου Σεβα ἀπελ Πρείσχου ταβλαρίου τοῦ τροφέως αὐτῆς]	Ephesus: Asia B I K

*Priscus, a *tabularius* in the imperial administration, was the foster father

	(τροφεύς) of a locally well-connected priestess of Artemis at Ephesus in whose honour the inscription was erected, including details of the summa honoraria paid for the honour of her priesthood.	
1703	<p>P. Aelius Privatus Augg. nn. lib. 6.27807 D M / P TURRANIUS HILARUS / FECIT SIBI ET FAONIAE IA/DI CONIUGI SUAE LIBERT / LIBERTABUSQUE / POSTERISQUE EORUM / IN FRONTE P X / IN AGRO P XIIS D M / P AELIUS PRIVATUS AUGG NN LIB / REFECIT SIBI ET SUIS ET PUBLILIAE / HELPIDI COIUGI BENEMERENTI ET / LIBERTIS LIBERTABUSQUE POSTERISQUE / EORUM Cf. 1548: P. Aelius Felix (9). On the general question of <i>Augustorum/Augg. liberti</i>, and in particular those manumitted well before 161, see Chantraine 225ff. and <i>Historia</i> 24, 1975, 603ff. (dismissing the possibility of joint-manumission before this date); Weaver 58ff., 66ff.; G Fabre, <i>REA</i> 75, 1973, 111-25; Boulvert (2) 61ff.</p>	Rome A f
1704	<p>P. [Ae]lius Probinus August(i). lib. 10.7614 D M / P [ae]LIUS PRO/BINUS AUG/UST LIB VIXIT ANN/OS L M VI PI/LS OVICILA(!) / CONIUGI BE/NE MERENTI *5-6: 'pius?'.</p>	Carales: Sardinia A H m
1705	<p>T. Ael(ius) Augg. lib. Probus (1) 6.10778 See 1535: T. Aelius Felicianus Probus, an <i>Augustorum libertus</i> who died the day after his 19th birthday, was manumitted exceptionally early even for an <i>Augusti libertus</i>. See commentary on his father, T. Aelius Felicianus (1535*) and on <i>Augustorum liberti</i> in general, 1548*: P. Aelius Felix (9).</p>	Rome C H
1706	<p>Aelius Probus (2) Aug. lib. 14.3636 = D 1584 = I.lt. IV 4. 1.176 See 1612: Aelius Irenaeus (2).</p>	Tibur: I F
1707	<p>T. Aelius A[ug.lib.] Proc[---] 6.10779 = 9009 D [m] / T AELIO A[ug lib] / PROC[---] / MARITO C[arissimo] / CLAUD[ia ---] / FECIT [---] / CL DO[---] / AURELIO [--- / ---] *2-3: assuming 'A[ug. lib.] in line 2, the following line must contain a <i>cognomen</i>, the most likely supplement for which is 'Proc[ulus]'; cf. Vidman 318, col. iii.</p>	Rome A e
1708	<p>P. Ael.(ius) Augustor(um) n. lib. Processianus 8.9434 = 20955 D M S / P AEL AUGUSTOR N LIB / PROCESSIANO VIXIT / ANNIS XVI MENSIBUS II / DIEBUS XXV P AEL PECUARIUS / FILIO PIISSIMO H S E S T T L *6: 's(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis)'. Processianus, an <i>Augustorum libertus</i> who died aged just 16, was manumitted at an even earlier age than T. Aelius Probus (1704) above. If this is an imperial freedman who served under successive emperors, he is one of two otherwise rare <i>Augustorum liberti</i> of any age in the period from Claudius to Hadrian who, for some reason, were manumitted at an exceptionally early age, under 20 years; cf. 1141: M. Ulpius Agilis.. (Weaver 68f., 101f.+ n. 3.) He he would barely have lived, much less served, under Antoninus Pius, and not at all into the reign of the joint emperors M. Aurelius and L. Verus. On the general question of <i>Augustorum liberti</i>, and in particular those</p>	Caesarea : Maur. Caes. C H M

	manumitted before 161, see Chantraine 225ff. and <i>Historia</i> 24, 1975, 603ff. (dismissing the possibility of joint-manumission before this date); Weaver 58ff., 66ff.; G Fabre, <i>REA</i> 75, 1973, 111-25; Boulvert (2) 61ff.	
1709	P. Aelius Au[g. lib.] Proculus (1) 6.34251 [--] / SE VIBO F[ecit sibi] / ET P AELIO AU[g lib] / PROCULO COGN[ato suo] / ET LIBERTIS LI[bertabusque] / POSTERISQUE [eorum]	Rome E
1710	T. Aelius Aug. lib. Proculus (2) (1) 14.5309.23 = NS 1912, 392 T AELI AUG LIB PROCULI A RAT (2) 14.5309.28 = NS 1908,330 T AELI AUG LIB PROCULI A RAT *From the number and different locations of <i>fistulae</i> bearing this stamp (Barbieri 151ff.), they are unlikely to belong to a private water conduit in Ostia or elsewhere (see esp. Bruun 86f.; Eck ...). In the period after Hadrian, Proculus is unlikely to be the head of the Palatine <i>a rationibus</i> department, but nonetheless a senior freedman official in that office carrying out official duties, in this case involving administration of the water supply in Rome and its neighbourhood; cf. Cosmus Aug. lib. [1951] <i>a rationibus</i> in 168, dealing with pasturage rights in Apulia (on the administrative hierarchy, see Boulvert (1) 271 + n.55; Weaver 246f.).	Ostia: I IP Ostia: I IP
1711	P. Aelius Aug. I. Prothymus 11.1222 = D 1554; cf. AE 1988, 569 See 1168*: Ulpia Clarina.	Placentia : VIII A B I K
1712	P. Aelius Aug. lib. Protus AE 1980, 160 = NS 1957, 358 D M / P AELIO / AUG LIB / PROTO / AELIUS / ZOSIMUS / LIB PATR/ONO BENE / MERENTI / FECIT	Rome G
1713	Aelius Provincialis Augg. lib. 6.15983 D M / SOMNO AETERNO / COELIAE PALAESTINE MEM/PHIUS IRAENAEUS RENATUS / ALUMNI ET HEREDES COMPARAVER / ET SIBI ET AELIS PROVINCIALI ET VIATORI / AUGG LIB EDUCATORIBUS SUIS / LIB LIBQ OMNIUM POSTQ EORUM / H M H N S *The three dedicands, Memphius, Irenaeus and Renatus, <i>alumni</i> and heirs of their foster-mother Coelia Palaestina, are presumably still slaves. Were the two imperial freedmen, Provincialis and Viator, their 'educatores'(7) in the sense of 'bringing up from childhood' i.e. foster-parents (the only meaning given in <i>OLD</i> 3. 587 s.v.), or in the sense of 'giving formal training or instruction'. It is difficult to imagine both freedmen, if still living, to have had simultaneously the role of foster-fathers. They may have been on the staff of schools (<i>paedagogia</i>), such as the <i>Ad Caput Africae</i> , the imperial training establishment on the Caelian, as <i>paedagogi puerorum</i> (e.g.. P. Aelius Lycus (1) [1620]; Aelius Acmaizon [1405]; Upius Agathonicus [1138]; cf. 6.1052) at a more senior rank, if both had already served under more han one emperor. On this inscription, see B. Rawson (1986), 175-6. On imperial <i>paedagogi</i> and the <i>ad Caput Africae</i> , see Mohler 264ff.; cf. Boulvert (1) 297 nn. 222-5. On the general question of <i>Augustorum liberti</i> , and in particular those manumitted before 161, see Chantraine 225ff. and <i>Historia</i> 24, 1975, 603ff. (dismissing the possibility of joint-manumission before this date); Weaver 58ff., 66ff.; G Fabre, <i>REA</i> 75, 1973, 111-25; Boulvert (2) 61ff.	Rome F

1714	P. Aelius Aug. lib. Puteolanus AE 1908, 250 P AELIO AUG LIB PUTEOLANO / TABULARIO CONIUGI ET / LARCIAE THALLUSAE MATRI / ET LARCIAE SOTERIDI SORORI / LARCI SYMPOSIA	Gerasa: Arabia A C D I
1715	P. Aelius Aug. lib. Pylades 5.7753 = D 5185; cf. AE 1987, 403 P AELIUS AUG LIB PYLADES PANTOMIMUS HIERONICA INSTITUIT L AURELIUS AUGG LIB PYLADES HIERONICA DISCIPULUS CONSUMMavit * ‘hieronica’(nom. m. sing.): ‘winner at the sacred festival games’. This Pylades (II) (<i>PIR</i> ¹ P 814 = <i>PIR</i> ² A 239) and his pupil Pylades (III) (2251 : L. Aurelius Pylades) were two imperial freedmen in the dynasty of <i>pantomimi</i> , actors who took the name <i>Pylades</i> in the succession of the celebrated Pylades (I) (<i>PIR</i> ¹ P 811 = <i>PIR</i> ² P...) of the time of Augustus. The ὁρχηστής Pylades, for whom Trajan had a passion in 103 (Cassius Dio 68.10), is not likely to have been a slave; he had to wait another 15-20 years to be freed by Hadrian (cf. Mommsen, <i>CIL</i> ad loc.); he may, however, have been a predecessor in the Pylades dynasty. On the successors of the rival Augustan <i>pantomimi</i> Pylades (I)—not a freedman of the emperor, who had him exiled briefly for sedition (Suetonius, <i>Aug.</i> 45.4; Cassius Dio 54.17.4-5)—and Bathyllus, see M. Bonaria, <i>Maia</i> 11, 1959, 224ff., and esp. W. J. Slater, <i>Phoenix</i> ...; <i>GRBS</i> ...	Genua X F I K
1716	P. Aelius Quietus Aug. lib. AE 1925, 21 D M / P AELIO QUIETO / A VINIS AUG LIB	Rome I
1717	(Aelius) [Rep]ostus (Aeli [A]ug. lib. [Chr]ysanthi) libertus AE 1950, 171 See 1475* : Aelius Chrysanthus (3).	Buthrotum: Epirus F G
1718	T. Ael(ius) Augg. lib. Restitutus (1) 6.8568 = D 1482 T AEL AUGG LIB / RESTITUTO PROC / [s]YRIAEC PALAEST / [--] TROPHIMUS [--] * <i>PIR</i> ¹ A 168 = <i>PIR</i> ² A 241. Given the seniority of provincial procurators and the status indication <i>Augg. lib.</i> , T. Aelius Restitutus' inscription is most likely from the period of M. Aurelius and L. Verus. As the senior <i>freedman</i> procurator in the provincial administration at this period, he can be assumed to be the assistant of the (unknown) equestrian provincial procurator. On the status and chronological distribution of the freedman <i>procuratores provinciae</i> , and on their function as assistants of their equestrian counterparts, see Boulvert (1) 293ff.; Weaver 276ff. with further references, esp. to the works of Plaum and Millar. On the general question of <i>Augustorum liberti</i> , and in particular those manumitted before 161, see Chantraine 225ff. and <i>Historia</i> 24, 1975, 603ff. (dismissing the possibility of joint-manumission before this date); Weaver 58ff., 66ff.; G Fabre, <i>REA</i> 75, 1973, 111-25; Boulvert (2) 61ff.	Rome AD 161-9? F I
1719	P. Aelius Aug. lib. Restitutus (2) 6.9010 = D 8267 D M / P AELIUS AUG LIB RESTITUTUS / PROCURATOR ET SIBI ET LIBERTIS / LIBERTABUSQUE SUIS F ITEM IIS / (5) QUOS SE VI(v)USMANUMISIT ET / IN NUMERUM LIBERTORUM OR/DINAVIT ET COLLIBERTUS SUOS FECIT / POSTERISQUE EORUM / H M H N S *5-7: Restitutus (2), albeit of senior status as <i>procurator</i> , here refers to his own freedmen as ‘collibertos suos’. A parallel example in the Fam. Caes. is [2698] (Epius Aug. lib.) = AE 1951, 183, also from Rome. ‘Collibertus’ is also sometimes used to refer to those who are still slaves, e.g. 6. 33766 = D 7593: Diasmenus Caes. n. ser. [5109] ; and even a <i>vicarius</i> : <i>Bull. Com.</i> 1941, p. 173	Rome G I M

	<p>no. 81(a): 'ianuario Agathopi Caes. n. ser. vicario' [4880], by yet another Restitutus! (Chantraine 119).</p> <p>Chantraine (83-6) raises the interesting question of the inheritance of patronal rights over a <i>liberti libertus</i> by the original patron (<i>patronus patroni</i>) when the freedman patron died intestate. This must often have been the case as the succession to patronal rights was restricted to <i>sui heredes</i> and freedmen, as ex-slaves, would have had only a limited line of agnatic succession, i.e. their own freeborn or adoptive children and their descendants. See note on the case of Ti. Claudius Eutrapelus (442*) for the possible implications of this for the nomenclature of such <i>lib. liberti</i>.</p> <p>The problem is that there could then have been (perhaps many) more such instances of the <i>nomina</i> of imperial freedmen, derived from freedman patrons of an earlier reign, which cannot readily be detected. This would introduce a potentially significant element of uncertainty into the value of imperial <i>nomina</i> as a crucial dating criterion in the Fam. Caes.</p>	
1720	<p>(T. Aelius) Restitutus (3) T.Aeli Aug. lib. Tyranni collib(ertus) AE 1945, 134 = 1949, 68 D M / T AELIO AUG LIB TYRANNO / QUI FUIT A COMM PROV BELGICAE / CONIUGI DULCISSIMO / AELIA ANDRIA UXOR ET / AELIUS VALERIANUS SOCER / ET RESTITUTUS FECIT COLLIB</p> <p>* Despite the absence of his <i>nomen</i>, this Restitutus is assumed to be a freedman of Antoninus Pius as <i>collibertus</i> of the provincial senior clerical <i>a commentariis</i> T. Aelius Tyrannus [1687] (cf. Chantraine 119 n.46). He is possibly (but less likely) to be identified with the freedman of Hadrian, P. Aelius Restitutus (2) above, another user of the term 'collibertus'. It is unlikely and inappropriate that Restitutus (3) would have used such a term if he were still of slave status himself (but cf. 5.83 = D 6677).</p>	Rome F
1721	<p>Restitutus (4) Aug. lib. (1) 14.3698 = 15.7896 IMP CAES TRAIAN HADRIANI AUG / SUB CURA RESTITUTI AUG LIB PROC</p> <p>1411 15.7310 = <i>I.lt.</i> IV 4.1.614 (a) SUB CUR RESTITUTI AUG LIB PROC (b) T CRISPIUS NICIAS FEC</p> <p>*(1) is a <i>fistula</i> from Hadrian's villa at Tibur and dated to Hadrian's reign. (2) from Rome is undated, but is also probably Hadrianic, on the plausible assumption that the <i>procurator</i> Restitutus is the same in both cases. The question remains whether he had responsibility for both locations and at the same time. This would be significant if the water supply to the villa at Tibur was quite separate from the main aqueducts supplying Rome (Bruun 277-9 + n.39). Freedman procurators are found on <i>fistulae</i> in different locations outside Rome and Ostia, e.g. 746: Alypus (Domitian); 1239: Hebrus (Trajan). Restitutus in (1) might simply have been a <i>procurator</i> in the patrimonial administration responsible for the imperial villa (cf. Bruun 221, 277ff.) If he subsequently moved up to the urban water administration, at this period, as a freedman, he would have been the assistant of an equestrian <i>procurator aquarum</i>, rather than directly responsible to the senatorial <i>curator aquarum</i>.</p>	Tibur: I I N P Rome F I P
1722	<p>Rodanus Augusti libertus 6.10673 See 1487: P. Aelius Dares, brother of Rodanus.</p>	Rome D

1723	P. Aelius Aug. lib. Romanus 6.10935 D M / AELIAE MARCIAE QUAE / VIXIT ANNIS XVI M I / DIEBUS XXVI P AELIUS / AUG LIB ROMANUS ET / FERIDIA MARCIANA / PARENTES INFELICISSIMI / FILIAE FECERUNT ET SIBI / LIBERTIS LIBERTABUSQUE / POSTERISQUE EORUM <i>*The daughter Aelia Marcia, who died aged 16 years and derived her <i>nomen</i> from her father and her <i>cognomen</i> from her mother, is probably freeborn following the manumission of Romanus.</i>	□□□ Rome A B H
1724	P. Aelius Romulus Augg. lib. 15.7418 Q BLAESI IUSTI / P AElius ROMULUS AUGG LIB <i>*Most likely a <i>plumbarius</i>: Bruun 311-12, n.10.</i>	Rome F P
1725	T. Aelius Aug. lib. Salvianus 6.13214 D M / M AURELIO AUG LIB / SALVIANO FILIO QUI / VIXIT ANN XXXIIII MENS I / D VI FECIT / T AElius AUG LIB SALVIANUS / ET SIBI ET SUIS ITEM LIBERTIS LI/BERTABUSQ POSTERISQ EORUM <i>*Salvianus <i>pater</i> lived into the reign of M. Aurelius, perhaps well into it, as neither he nor his freedman son who died some years after manumission at the regular age of 30, do not take the 'Augg. lib' status indication. This suggests that the latter died after the death of the joint-emperor L.Verus in 169.</i>	Rome C H
1726	T. Aelius Aug. lib. Salvius 6.33785-6 T AElio DIPHILO FIL / D[u]LCISSIONE QUI VIXIT / ANN XI DIEB XLVII ET / TUCCIAE ADAUGENDAE / UXORI PISSIMAE QUAE VIXIT / ANN XXXIIII MENS XI / T AElius AUG LIB SALVIUS / A PACT FECIT SIBI ET SUIS LIBERTIS / LIBERTABUSQ POSTERISQ EORUM <i>*8: 'a pact(ionibus)', involved in the adjudication of tenders for public works contracts in Rome; cf. Boulvert (1), 163 + n. 474.</i>	Rome A B H I
1727	? AElius SAOTERUS 6.2010. a. 22 See [1850]: M. Aur(elius) Branito Aug. [lib.] <i>*Aelius Saoterus, without status indication or <i>praenomen</i>, appears on a list of fifteen <i>clarissimi viri</i>, patrons of a priestly <i>ordo sacerdotum domus Augustae Palatinae</i> from the late 2nd C., including the consular Vitrasius Pol(l)io, cos. II 176., and is evidently of senatorial rank. It has been suggested (RE 1.529, s.v. Aelius 127) that he is the Saoterus who was <i>cubicularius</i> and alleged sexual partner (<i>subactor</i>) of Commodus during the early period of his reign and who, according to HA <i>Commodus</i> 4.5, was murdered by the praetorian prefects in 184 (see [2284a]: (Aurelius?) Saoterus). This is improbable. Apart from the unprecedented status discrepancy of a freedman <i>vir clarissimus</i>, he would have to have been manumitted at the latest by Antoninus Pius, more than two decades earlier,. For a brief analysis of the <i>nomina</i> and status of those recorded in the <i>ordo</i>, see [1850*].</i>	F I L Q
1728	Aelia Aug. I. Saturnina (1) 6.10973 D M / AELIAE AUG L SATURNINAE / ULPIUS ALEXANDER / UXORI OPTUME / DE SE MERITAE / VIXIT ANN XXXV	Rome A H
1729	Aelia Saturnina (2) (Aeliae Aug. lib. Urbanae) liberta AE 1949, 69 = <i>La civiltà cattolica</i> 1942, 4 p.83 See 1782:(1): Aelia Urbana.	Rome G H

1730	<p>T. Ael(ius) Augg. lib. Saturnin(us) (1) 6.8450 = D 1521</p> <p>D M / T AEL AUGG LIB SATURNIN / PR[oc provinc] BELGICAE / [---] PROC / FISCI LIBERTATIS ET PECULIOR / TABUL A RATIONIBUS / TABUL OSTIS AD ANNONA</p> <p>* <i>PIR</i>² A 250; <i>RE</i> 1.529 (Aelius 130). An unusually full freedman career. On the progression of senior <i>tabularii</i> to procuratorships, including provincial posts, from the mid-2nd C.: Weaver 244ff., 272ff.</p> <p>For a list of the <i>Augustorum liberti</i> before AD 161, see 1548*: Aelius Felix (9). On the general question, see Chantraine 225ff. and <i>Historia</i> 24, 1975, 603ff. (dismissing the possibility of joint-manumission before this date); Weaver 58ff., 66ff.; G Fabre, <i>REA</i> 75, 1973, 111-25; Boulvert (2) 61ff.</p>	Rome I
1731	<p>T. Aelius Aug. lib. Saturninus (2) 6.8622 = D 1677</p> <p>T AELIUS AUG LIB / SATURNINUS / A DIPLOMATIBUS / SARDONYCHI / ALUMNO FIDELISSIMO</p> <p>*5: 'Sardonychi', dative of 'Sardonyx', name of the <i>alumnus</i> dedicatee. Saturninus had charge of the <i>a diplomatisbus</i> (a section of a <i>memoria</i> department) which, since the reform of the <i>cursus publicus</i> by Hadrian, was responsible for the issue and delivery of permits to use the imperial postal service; cf. Hirschfeld 199f.; Boulvert (1) 285f.</p>	Rome b I
1732	<p>T. Aelius Aug. lib. Saturninus (3) 6.10791 = D 8228</p> <p>D M / T AELIUS AUG LIB SATURNINUS / ET AELIA GLYCONIS INFELICISSIMI / PARENTES HUNC(!) MUNIMENTUM COMPARAVI/MUS NOBIS ET T AELIO SATURNINO FILIO / NOSTRO DULCISSIMO QUI VIXIT ANNIS VI / MENSIB US VIII DIB XVI HORIS VI ET LIBERTIS / LIBERTABUSQUE POSTERISQUE AEORUM / POST OBITUM NOSTRUM QUISQUE HUNC / (10) MUNIMENTUM DOLO MALO DONATIONIS / CAUSA TRADEDISSE(!) VOLUERIT / COMPELLABITUR A POMTITICES(!) / POENAE NOMINE SS XXX (m) N</p> <p>*12: 'a(d?) pontifices'.</p>	Rome A B H M
1733	<p>T. Aurelius Aug. lib. Satur[ninus] (4) 6.13219</p> <p>D [m] / T AURELIUS AUG LIB SATUR[ninus] / AURELIAE CAPRIOLAE SAN[ctissimae] / CONIUGI BENE MERENTI [et aurelio] / SATURNINO F LIB LIBERTABUS[q p q eor]</p> <p>Cf. 1496: T. Aurelius Egathus Imp. Antonini Aug. lib. For a list of freedmen of Antoninus Pius manumitted before 138, see 1432*: T. Aurelius Anicetus; also Chantraine 26; Weaver 26; Boulvert (2) 65 n. 383.</p> <p>The popularity of the <i>cognomen</i> 'Saturninus' among <i>Augusti liberti</i> in the Aelian period extends to that of their sons, as here and in 1731 above, both of whom are possibly freeborn.</p>	Rome A B
1734	<p>Ael(ius) Aug. lib. Saturninus (5) 6.13394</p> <p>D M / AURELIA VICTORINA / DONATUM SIBI AB AURE/LIA GEN PATRONA SUA / OB IN OPIA REFICIENDUM / AEL AUG LIB SATURNINO / MARITO SUO / SUISQUE OMNIBUS FECIT / [c]ON SUMMAVITQUE</p> <p>*4: <i>cognomen</i> 'Gen(...?)'.</p>	Rome A G M
1735	<p>(T.Aelius) Saturninus (5)(T. Aeli Aug. lib. Volusiani) conl(ibertus) 14.3720 = I.lt. IV, \$.1.260</p> <p>See 1793: T. Aelius Volusianus.</p>	Tibur: I F

1736	<p>[-] Aelius Aug. I. Saturninus (6) 10.6005 = D 1568 =</p> <p>[-] AELIO AUG L / SATURNINO / PROCUR CASTR / PLEBS AERE CONL / OB ADSIDUAM ET LIBERAM / MUNIFICENT IAM EIUS</p> <p>*PIR² A 249; RE 1. 529 (Aelius 129). As <i>procurator castrensis</i>, Saturninus was head of the Palatine domestic administration, a freedman post for which the earliest epigraphic evidence is from the Flavian period: Ti. Claudius Bucolas (339); cf. Boulvert (1)169ff. For another group dedication involving this post, cf. Ulpius Crater (1098).</p>	Minturnae: I IK
1737	<p>T. Ael(ius) Aug. lib. Saturus 6.8569 = D 1481; cf.</p> <p>D[m] / T AEL AUG LIB SATURO PROC PR[ovin ---] / ET FL MYSTICILLAE EIUS PISSIMIS [--- curante -] / AUG LIB LUCIANO PROC PROVIN NARBONENSIS M[---]</p> <p>* See 1618*: (Aelius?) Lucianus; PIR² L 371.</p>	Rome F I
1738	<p>? C. Iulius Aug. lib. Satyrus 6.376 = D 3670 = 235</p> <p>(a) IOVI CUSTODI / ET GENIO / THESAURORUM / ARAM / C IULIUS AUG LIB / SATYRUS / D D</p> <p>(b) DEDIC XIII K FEBR / M CIVICA BARBARO / M METILIO REGULO / COS</p> <p>*While the content of the dedication in (a) does not exclude a 1st C. date (cf. D 3671-3673), the consular date in (b) is late in the reign of Antoninus Pius. On the assumption that, because of the similarity of lettering, both parts of the inscription were put up at the one time, either the <i>nomen</i> of Iulius Satyrus in (a) or the date in (b) is irregular. For possible solutions: Weaver 30 n. 4, 35f.; Chantraine 77ff.</p>	Rome L N AD 157
1739	<p>P. Aelius Aug. lib. Scorus 6.15413</p> <p>D M CLAUDIAE / EUTYCHIAE / P AELIUS AUG LIB / SCORPUS / CONIUGI / SANCTISSIM FEC</p>	Rome A
1740	<p>P. Aelius Aug. lib. Secundus (1) 6.8997 = D 5174</p> <p>P AELIO AUG LIB SECUNDO / PILARIO OMNIUM EMINENTIS/SIMO FECIT AELIA EUROPE / VIRO SANCTISSIMO ET SIBI / ET SECUNDO ET MAGNAE FILIS / ET LIB LIBERTABUSQ POSTERQ EORUM / QUI VIX ANN XLVI</p> <p>*2: <i>pilarius</i> (< 'pila' = 'ball'), a juggler; cf. Quintillian, <i>Inst.</i> 10.7.11. As 'the most eminent of them all', Secundus presumably performed on the public stage as well as before the emperor.</p>	Rome A B H I
1741	<p>P. Aelius Aug. lib. Secundus (2) 6.9091</p> <p>P AELIO AUG LIB / SECUNDO FECIT / T AELIUS AUG LIB / EUTYCHUS ADIUTOR / A VINIS ET SIBI LIB / LIBERTABUS QUE / POSTERISQUE / EORUM</p> <p>* See 1528*: T. Aelius Eutychus (3).</p>	Rome F I
1742	<p>Aelius Secundus (3) Augustor(um) lib. 6.10853 =10620</p> <p>D M / AELIAE BERONICE / SANCTISSIMAE / REVERENTISSIMAE / OBSEQUENTISSIMAE / RARISSIMAE AELIUS / SECUNDUS AUGUSTOR / LIB DOMINAE OPTIMAE VIX / ANN XXVIII MENS I DIE XXVI</p> <p>*8: 'domina' here is a term of affection (OLD 3. 570 s.v. 3a) consistent with the range of superlative epithets, e.g. 'obsequentissima' ('considerate', 'obliging').</p> <p>On the question of <i>Augustorum liberti</i>, in particular those manumitted before 161, and for further references, see commentary on 1548: P. Aelius Felix (9).</p>	Rome A H

1743	T. Aelius Aug. lib. Secundus (4) AE 1988, 173 D M / T AELO AUG LIB / SECUNDO / CAESONIA EGLOGE MARIT	Ostia: I A
1744	(Aelius) Secundus (5) Aug. lib. 10.1742 D M / AEI IANVARI / SECUNDUS AUG / LIB TABULAR / LIBERTO B M	Puteoli: I G I
1745	(Aelius) Secundus (6) (Aeli [A]ug.lib. [Chr]ysanthi) libertus AE 1950, 171 See 1475*: Aelius Chrysanthus (3).	Buthrotum: Epirus F G
1746	Aelia Severa Aug. I. (1) 6.18428 D M / FLAVIAE SEVERINAE QUAE VIX / AN XVII M III D VIII T FLAVIUS IA/NUARIUS ET AELIA SEVERA AUG L MA / ET AELIA SEVERA AUG L SOR ET FORTU/NATUS C N FILIAE DULCISSIMAE / FECERUNT ET SIBI ET SUIS LIBERTIS / LIBERTABUSQUE POSTERISQUE EORUM / H M D M A *6: 'C(aesaris) n(ostri)'. The dedicand Flavia Severa, who died aged 17, is the freeborn daughter of Flavius Ianuarius and Aelia Severa senior, and was born after the latter's manumission by Hadrian or Antoninus. The inscription thus dates from c.135 or later. The other two named on the inscription, inserted in lines 5-6 before the words 'filiae dulcissimae', are the sister and (probably) brother of the deceased Flavia Severa. Aelia Severa junior and Fortunatus were both born earlier as slaves in the Fam. Caes., say in the period 112-117 or later, before the manumission of their mother. Fortunatus, now some twenty or more years on, still awaits manumission. Whether or not T. Flavius Ianuarius was their father, given the ready use of imperial status indications by other members of the family, a direct link with the Fam. Caes. on his side is problematic.	Rome A B F H
1747	Aelia Severa Aug.I. (2) 6.18428 See 1745* above.	Rome C D F
1748	T. Aelius Aug. lib. Sil{v}anus 6.17198 D M / AEPHEBO ALU/MNO T AElius AUG LIB SILB/ANUS BENE / MERENTI / FECIT	Rome B
1749	Aelius Silvester Aug. lib. 13.2038 DIIS MANIBUS ET / MEMORIAE VICTORIS / AUG LIB DE STUDENTIBUS / QUI VIXIT ANNOS X M VI / D VI AElius SILVESTER / AUG LIB ET ABUCCIA EU/TERPE ALUMNO CARISS[im] / POSUERUNT CUR[ante] / VESONTICO PATRE EIUSD / VICTORIS DULCISSIMI / ET SUB ASCIA DEDICAVE/RUNT *Points of interest are the very early manumission of Victor, the <i>alumnus</i> of Aelius Silvester and Abuccia Euterpe, the unusual term 'de studentibus' and the involvement of his natural father Vesonticus in the dedication. Victor, at 10 yrs. 6 m., was a very young student at the time of his death. There are very few cases recorded of <i>Augusti liberti</i> freed between the ages of 1 to 10 years (Weaver 100f., to which the present case and that of Ti. Claudius Victor (1) (642 = 6.15314) should be added; delete M. Ulpius Euphor(v)us (1125* = 10.654) where <i>I.lt.1. 1.163</i> reads "IIL", correcting his age from 3 to 48 yrs). One may conjecture here simply an 'abusive' or mistaken use of the imperial status indication. Even if Victor was an imperial slave from birth—his father is mentioned but not his mother—and subsequently fostered out, it is difficult to imagine that a 'pathetic' or death-bed manumission in Lugdunum would have imperial recognition.	Lugdunum: Gallia Lugd. A B F H M

1750	Aelius Sosias (T.Aeli Aug. lib. Vitalis) lib. 3.14180 = IGR 4.676 See [1712]: T. Αἴλιος Σεβ. ἀπελεύθ. Οὐειτάλιος (2)	Patara,Lycia Pamphilia F G
1751	T. Aelius Au(g)usti lib. Soterichus 6.10931 D M / AELIA LUCIAS / T AEILIO AUCUS/TI(!) LIB SOTERIC/HO MARITO CA/RISSIMO FECIT / PIISSIMO	Rome A
1752	T. Aelius Aug. lib. Stephanus (1) 6.18385; cf.34115 D M / [flaviae] NICOPOLI FECIT T AElius AUG LIB STEPHANUS CONIUGI / [carissi]MAE ET SIBI ET SUIS LIBERIS LIBERTIS LIBERTABUSQ POSTERISQ / [eor si quis ho]C MONUMENTUM VENDERE AUT ALIENIGERARE VOLUERIT DABIT AERARIO POPULI ROMANI / [h s --- item is qui] POST ME EXTERUM CORPUS INTULERIT AUT IS QUI EMERIT IN F P X IN AG P XII	Rome A M
a	[si quis forte mor]AE PATIENS VIS SCIRE VIATOR / [parvolus hic a]TRIS TITULIS QUID NOSTER ARATUS / [reddat ager lacrim]AS PAULUM CONSISTE DOCEBO / [haec aeli steph]ANI QUONDAM CARISSIMA CONIUX / [dum vixit fuerat]FLAVIA NICOPOLIS / [nec vivet non ca]RA MIHI CUM VITA MANEBIT / [delectat iam nulla] QUIES NISI MORTIS IMAGO / [in somnis teneo quam r]APUERE DEI / [semper ego ut manes possint] AUDIRE ITERABO	
b	FLAVIA NICOPOLIS NOMEN DULCE TUUM / ET TUMULO SPARGAM SAEPE MEAS LACRIMAS / O MIHI SI SUPERI VELLENT PRAESTARE ROGANTI / UT TUO DE TUMULO FLOS EGO CERNA NOVUM / CRESCERE VEL VIRIDI RAMO VEL FLORE AMARANTI / VEL ROSEO VEL PURPUREO VIOLAEQUE NITORE / UT QUI PRAETERIENS GRESSU TARDANTE VIATOR / VIDERIT HOS FLORES TITULUM LEGAT ET SIBI DICAT / HOC FLOS EST CORPUS FLAVIAE NICOPOLIS *b.4: 'cerna(m)'.	
1753	(Aelius) Stephanus (P. Aeli Vitalis Aug. lib.) lib. 2.485 = D1493 See 1790: Aelius Vitalis (1).	Emerita: Lusitania G
1754	(Aelius)[Str]atonicus (Aeli [A]ug.lib. [Chr]ysanthi) libertus AE 1950, 171 See 1475: Aelius Chrysanthus (3).	Buthrotum: Epirus F G

1755	<p>T. Aurelius Aug. lib. Strenion (1) 14.250 = D 6174 M' ACILIO GLABRIONE M VALERIO HOMULO COS / ORDO CORPORATORUM LENUNCULARIOR / TABULARIORUM AUXILIARES OSTIENS / PATRONI / M SEDATIUS C FIL SEVERIANUS / T PRIFERNIUS SEX F PAETUS ROSIANUS GEMINUS / M SEDATIUS M F SEVERUS IULIUS REGINUS / C AL<L>IU<S>.C FIL FUSCIANUS // L VOLUSIUS MAESAINUS / L IULIUS MEMOR / M CIPIUS PROCLIANUS / T AURELIUS AUG LIB STRENION / L MARIUS GERMANUS // ... *3: 'auxiliaries(ium)'.</p> <p>(2) AE 1956, 19 DIVAE FAUSTINAE ANTONIN[i] / STRENION LIB A CUBIC[ulo]</p>	Ostia: I AD 152 F I K N Q
	<p>*T. Aurelius Strenion in (1) was manumitted by Antoninus before he became emperor in 138 (cf. references at 1432*: T. Aurelius Anicetus). The freedman Strenion in (2) was chamberlain of Antoninus' wife Faustina I, who died in AD 141. They are most likely the same person. In that case, as (2) is dated after the latest date for Strenion (1)'s manumission, he was a freedman of Antoninus, not of Faustina. For the similar case of Herma Aug(usti?) lib. under the Flavians, who was a <i>cubicolo Domitiae Aug(ustae)</i>, see 893*; cf. Charnaine 44 n.10.</p> <p>Some eleven years after the death of Faustina, in (2) Strenion appears among nine patrons, ahead of about 150 members, on the register of one of the five corporations of <i>lenuncularii</i> at Ostia. These were boatmen engaged in the transport of cargo and goods up the river Tiber to Rome (see Meiggs 296-8). The precise function of the <i>tabularii auxiliarienses</i> among them is uncertain. (Meiggs, p. 297, suggests they were owners of tug-boats providing service to other boats.) Few appear to have been freedmen. The role of patron was of considerable status. A similar <i>album</i> of the same <i>ordo</i> from AD 192, (14.251 = D 6175) contains three senators and six equestrians as the nine patrons.</p>	Neapolis: I I L N
1756	<p>[- Aelius? A]ug.lib. Symph[orus] (1) 6.8751 [d] M / [--- a]UG LIB SYMPH[orus ---] / [arc]HIMAGIR[us --- / fecit sibi et] AELIAE AGR[ipp]INA / [--- e]T IULIAE CLEOPATRAE / [m]ARITAE BENE MERENTIBUS ET / [ae]LIAE AGRIIPP<I>NAE NEPOTI SUAE LIBERT[is] / LIBERTABUS QUE POSTERISQUE EORUM *3: 'archimagirus' 'head cook'; other instances are mid-2nd C. or later, cf. Boulvert (1) 296 n.220 , who views the title as a domestic innovation of Hadrian for <i>praepositus cocorum</i>, reflecting his philhellenic preferences. 'Aelius' is most likely for the missing <i>nomen</i> of Symphorus, on the assumption that Aelia Agrippina is his daughter and his granddaughter is also '[Ae]lia' (not '[Iu]lia') Agrippina. For the comparative rarity of <i>nepos</i> appearing with the names of grandparents and grandchildren in the same inscription, see Boulvert (2) 317f. n.270.</p>	Rome A B C I
1757	<p>P. Aelius Aug. lib. Symphorus (2) 14.524 D M / AELIAE HELPIDI / P AELIUS AUG LIB / SYMPHORUS PATRO/NUS ET CONTU/BERNALIS BENE / MERENTI V A XVI MEN V</p>	Ostia: I A G H
1758	<p>P. Aelius Trophimi Aug. l. lib. Syneros 14.51 = AE 1987, 175 See [1693]: Aelius Trophimus (3)</p>	Ostia: I 1 Oct. 124 G K L N

1759	P. Aelius Aug. lib. Taurus (1) 6.9011 A T / D M / P AELIUS AUG LIB / TAURUS PROC *1: 'A(elii) T(auri)' CIL.	Rome I
1760	T. Ael(ius) Augg. lib. Taurus (2) 12.2254 (ascia) / D M / T AEL AUGG / LIB TAURO / SABINUS MARCEL/LINA TAURUS FILI / PATRI PISSIMO / ET ITALICE CONIU/GI INCOMPARABI/LI *It is impossible to say whether the single names of the children of Taurus and his wife Italice indicate that they were still of slave status. It would be interesting and unusual for a freedman who had served under two successive <i>Augusti</i> if this were the case. For a list of the <i>Augustorum liberti</i> before AD 161, see 1548*: Aelius Felix (9). On the general question, see Chantraine 225ff. and <i>Historia</i> 24, 1975, 603ff. (dismissing the possibility of joint-manumission before this date); Weaver 58ff., 66ff.; G Fabre, <i>REA</i> 75, 1973, 111-25; Boulvert (2) 61ff.	Gratianop o-lis: Gallia Narbonen sis A B M
1761	P. Aelius Aug. lib. Telesphor(us)(1) 6.9041 D M / P AELIUS AUG LIB / TELESPHOR SELENTIA/RIUS(!) FECIT SIBI ET AELIAE / FORTUNATAE LIB KARISSI/MAE ET P AELIO TELESPHORO / FIL ET NAEVIAE TYCHE CON/IUGI SANCTISSIMAE ET NAEVIO / TELESPHORO FILIO ET NAEVIO / SUCCESSO FILIASTRO ET P AELIO / FELICI LIB ET LIB POSTERQ EOR *3: 's(i)lentiarius', an official who kept order (and silence?) among slave staff; cf. Boulvert (1) 238f. n.237. The order of names in this epitaph is somewhat unusual: the first dedicand is a freedwoman of Telesphorus, followed by his younger (freeborn) son of the same name, and only third is his wife, Naevia Tyche; then comes their elder son, Naevius Telephorus, followed his stepson, Naevius Successus, a child of Tyche by an earlier union, and finally his freedman Felix. Except for the last, the dedicands are named in the order of the father's and then the mother's <i>nomen</i> . From the absence of any age-data, it is possible that all were living at the time of the dedication which served to give them access to the family monument. If the two children of Telesphorus and Tyche were born before and after his manumission, it is likely that they were freeborn as may well have been their mother. Cf. commentary on 1407, the family inscription of T.Aelius Aelianus.	Rome A B G I
1762	P. Aelius Telesphorus (2) Aug. lib. AE 1980, 99 D M / AELIAE ZOSIME / COIUGI BENE MERENTI / P AELIUS TELESPHORUS / AUG LIB FECIT	Rome A
1763	Telesph[orus] (3) [Aug. lib.?] AE 1972, 500 = S.Dusanic, <i>Ziva Antika</i> 21, 1971, 242ff. ANTINO HE[roi aedem ? iussu] / IMP CAESARIS T[raianil hadriani aug] / ET L AELII [caesaris aug f] / COLONI ARG [dardanicarum?] / CURANTE TELESPH[oro] proc aug lib (?) fec	Socanika: Moesia I K N
	*1: '[aedem / statuam?]; 4: 'coloni arg(entiarum)' inhabitants of a community in the silver-mining district of N. Dardania. The text is restored by Dusanic, on the basis of other inscriptions at the same site. . For commentary, see AE ad loc. The assumption that Telesphorus, who is responsible for the dedication, is an imperial freedman is dependent on the further assumption that he was a procurator in charge at the mine. If so, the final line should read; 'Telesph[oro] Aug. lib. proc(uratore)'.	

1764	<p>[Αἰλιος Τέρπτιος Σεβ. ἀπελ. IGR 3.250 [- Αἰλιος Τέρπτιος Σεβ. ἀπελ. [Ἐρ]μοφίλω ἀπελευθέρω καὶ θρεπτῷ μνήμης χάριν]</p>	Laodicea: Galatia G
1765	<p>Aelia Aug.I ib. Thallusa 6.10988 D M / AELIAE AUG LIB / THALLUSAE / CONIUGI KARISSIMAE / VIX ANIS XXIX / MENS VII D X / EUTYCHUS AUG / SIBI ET SUIS POSTE/RISQUE EORUM</p>	Rome A H
1766	<p>T. Aelius Aug. lib. Theodotus 6.8634 = D 1697 TI CLAUDI AUG / LIB AVITI IMBI/TATORIS ET T AE/LI AUG LIB THEO/DOTI ADIUTO/RIS A COGNIT / ET SCETASIAE / OCTAVIAE FILIS / CARISSIMIS / ANTONIA RHODINE / MATER FECIT *2: 'imitator' = 'invitator', a post of some responsibility on the imperial dining room staff on the Palatine held by freedmen. Cf. Martial 9. 91.1-2: 'ad cenam si me diversa vocaret in astra / hinc invitator Caesaris, inde lovis'; AE 1952. 31 [= 2709]: Eunomus Aug.lib. They ranked higher than the imperial <i>pedisequi</i>, who were often young slaves; see Boulvert (1) 179f.</p>	Rome C D I
	<p>This inscription appears to involve two brothers freed respectively by Claudius/Nero and Antoninus Pius. Of these two mutually exclusive dates, the Antonine one is preferred (see Weaver, CQ 15, 1965, 323f. and Charntraine 83, 87-8). For rejection of the Claudian date, see 355*: Ti. Claudius Avitus. For similar dating anomalies, see 373:Ti. Claudius Censorinus = 1603: P. Aelius Ianuarius; and 442: Ti. Claudius Eutrapelus = 565: Ti. Cl(audius) Paris = [1595]: T. Aelius Paris, Indications (but not proof) of a 2nd C. date are: the use of a second <i>nomen gentilicium</i> as <i>cognomen</i> (6-7; cf. Charntraine 88); the spelling 'imitator' for 'invitator'(2-3); the occupational title 'adiutor'(5), which is rarely attested in a department of the central administration before the 2nd C. (cf. Weaver 238; CQ 1965, 324).</p>	
	<p>The names of the children of Antonia Rhodine present three different <i>nomena gentilicia</i> (Claudius, Aelius, Scetasia), all of which differ from hers, while the two sons have the imperial status indication <i>Aug. lib.</i> Whether one or more husbands of Antonia Rhodine were involved, or the name of a grandparents or there are here stepchildren or adopted children, can only be speculated. It is not unusual to find children in the Fam. Caes. material with a <i>nomen</i> different from those of both parents, even where these differ; cf. esp. 1446, where the parents of Claudia Voluptas are T. Aelius Aug. lib. Astius and Flavia Deutera (see Weaver 40, 150-1). What is clear is that the two sons both have freedman posts in Rome, Avitus in the imperial domestic service, Theodotus in the central judicial administration. The use of the imperial status indication in either case is therefore unlikely to be accidental or anomalous. In this respect they differ from the less intractable cases of Claudius Censorinus (373) and Claudius Eutrapelus (565) cited above, for neither of whom is an imperial post mentioned.</p>	
	<p>How did Avitus and Theodotus become imperial slaves? One alternative would be birth to a freeborn mother cohabiting with an imperial slave followed by enslavement under the provisions of the <i>SC Claudianum</i> of AD 52. For both of them, this would need to have occurred at least some twenty to thirty years before their inscription was erected, in view of the level of the imperial posts they held, even if they had been manumitted early. They need not have been born after the amendment of the <i>senatusconsultum</i> by Hadrian, which would</p>	

	have required their mother also to be reduced to slave status. In any case, Antonia Rhodine, it seems, did not have to change her name. Aelius Theodotus could then be the slaveborn child of Antonia Rhodine, but the anomaly of the <i>nomen</i> of the slaveborn Claudius Avitus would remain, perhaps derived irregularly from that of an adoptive parent.	
1767	<p>T. Aelius Theon Aug. lib. 6.9042</p> <p>D M / THEONI VERNAE AUG NOSTR[i] / QUI VIXIT ANN V MENS XI DIEB XIII[-] / T AELIUS THEON AUG LIB SILENTIARIV[s] / ET VETIA VERYLLA FILIO DULCISSIM[o] / ET PIENTISSIMO FECERUNT ET SIBI E[t] / LIBERTIS LIBERTABUSQ POSTERISQ EORUM / H M D M A QUISQUIS AUTEM HOC VENDER[e] / DONATIONIS CAUSA HS N I DARE VOLUERI[t] / INFERET AERARIO POPULI ROMANI HS XXX</p> <p>*4: 'silentarius', an official who kept order (and silence?) among slave staff; cf. P. Aelius Telesphorus (1) (1760). Boulvert (1) 238f. n.237 suggests a Flavian date for the introduction of this post, but the two examples are Hadrianic or later.</p>	Rome A B H M
1768	<p>T. Aelius Aug. lib. T(h)reptio 6.12402</p> <p>D M / ARRIAECIANUARIAE VIX / ANN VII MENS VII DIEB VII / TI CLAUDIUS POLYBIANUS / ET ARRIA AUGUSTALIS ALU/MNAE CARISSIMAE ET SIBI / FECERUNT LIBERTIS LIBER/TABUSQ POSTERISQ EORUM / T AEL AUG LIB TREPTIO(!) FECIT SIBI / ET UXORI AELIAE CAPRIOLE B M</p>	Rome A f H
1769	<p>P. Aelius Aug. lib. Threptus 6.33770 = D 9030</p> <p>See 1520: Aelius Eutyches (1) and commentary.</p>	Rome C I
1770	<p>T. Aelius Aug.lib. Titianus (1) 6.8878 = D 1685</p> <p>D M / T AELIO AUG LIB TITIANO PROX / A LIBR SACERDOTAL DEF CARNUNT / ANN XXXXII M III D XIX MARIT VIRGIN / DULCISS ET INCOMPARABILI BENE / QUE MERITO QUEM FUNERAVIT / FLAMPELIS CONIUX CARISSIMA / ET RELIQUIAS EIUS PERMISSU IMP / IPSA PERTULIT CONSECRAVITQUE / CUM Q V A XII M III D XXI SINE ULLA / QUERELLA</p> <p>*2-3: 'prox(imo) a lib(ris) sacerdotal(ibus), def(uncto) Carnunt(i)', a senior official in the priestly archives, who evidently died while he was with M. Aurelius on the Danube during the war with the Marcomanni.</p> <p>4: 'marit(o) virgin(eo)' seems to mean 'husband to a wife who was a virgin at marriage' (cf. OLD 2071, s.v. 1.c). Flampelis herself was not without influence with the emperor; she was clearly not a slave.</p>	Rome A H I
1771	<p>P. Aelius Aug. lib. Titianus (2) 6.10802 = D 8044</p> <p>P AELIUS AUG LIB TITIANUS / D M FECIT / SIBI ET LIB LIBERTABUSQ / POSTERISQ EORUM / ET MISERICORIDAE</p>	Rome M
1772	<p>P. Aelius Aug. lib. Trophimus (1) 6.8930 = 33754a</p> <p>See 1455*: Aelius Cal(l)ippus.</p>	Rome A B D F
1773	<p>P. Aelius A[ug.lib.] Trophimus (2) 6.10804</p> <p>[-- ?] / P AELIO A[ug lib] / TROPHIMO / CRITONIA HERI[--] / PARENTIB[us]</p>	Rome B

1774	<p>(P. Aelius) Trophimus (3) Aug. I. 14.51 = AE 1987, 175 [a]RAM SAC[-]NAM AUG GENIO[-] SACOMAR[-] / P AELIUS TROPHIMI AUG L PROC PROV / CRETAE LIB SYNEROS ET / TROPHIMUS ET AELIANUS FILI / DECURIONUM DECRETO / DEDICATA K OCTOBR / M' ACILIO GLABRIONE C BELLICO TORQUATO COS *= <i>PIR</i>¹ T260 = <i>PIR</i>² A272. As a <i>procurator provinciae</i>, assisting his equestrian superior, Trophimus held the highest ranking among the freedman procurators, who were themselves at the top of the status tree in the Fam. Caes. and would be expected to take some years after manmission to reach this level. In this case only seven years at the most can have elapsed. He is the only such freedman procurator so far whose inscription can be securely dated to the reign in which he gained manumission. Cf. Weaver 269f.</p>	Ostia: I 1 Oct. 124 B G I K L N
1775	<p>? Aelia Tulia Caesaris [---?] 13.1619 add. DM / AELIA TULIA CAESARIS / [---]TILIAE</p>	Mediolanum Santonum: Gallia Aquit.
1776	<p>Aelia Aug. lib. Tyche (1) (1) 6.7458 = D 1798 See 16951(1): Aelius Primitivus. (2) 6.8750 See 16951(2). * For the problems of nomenclature, see commentary loc. cit..</p>	Rome M Q Rome A M Q
1777	<p>Aelia Tyche (2) Aug. lib. 8.12943 D M S / AELIA THIYCE(!) / AUG LIB / PIA VIXIT AN / LXXXII H S EST *Died aged 92 years. Exceptional longevity in age-data is among the regional characteristics of the N. African inscriptions.</p>	Carthago: Africa H M
1778	<p>(Aelius) Tychicus (Aeli [A]ug.lib. [Chr]ysanthi) libertus AE 1950, 171 See 1475*: Aelius Chrysanthus (3).</p>	Buthrotum: Epirus F G
1779	<p>P. Aelius Tyrannus (1) Augustorum libertus <i>Monumenti Antichi</i> 39, 1943, col.154 no.20) D M / P AELIUS TYRAN/NUS AUGUSTORU/M LIBERTUS FECI/T POLYTIMO COLLI/BERTO SUO BENEM/[eren]TI FECIT QU/[i vixit a]NNIS XXX *For a list of <i>Augustorum liberti</i> manumitted before 161 and discussion, see 1548*: Aelius Felix (9). On the general question, see Chantraine 225ff. and <i>Historia</i> 24, 1975, 603ff. (dismissing the possibility of joint-manumission before this date); Weaver 58ff., 66ff.; G Fabre, <i>REA</i> 75, 1973, 111-25; Boulvert (2) 61ff.</p>	Rome F H
1780	<p>T. Aelius Aug. lib. Tyrannus (2) (1) AE 1945, 134 = <i>La Civiltà cattolica</i> 1942, 4 p.82 AELIA ANDRIA UXOR ET AELIUS VALERIANUS SOCER T AELIO AUG LIB TYRANNO A COMM PROV BELGICAE (2) Ibid. = AE 1949, 70 D M / T AELIO AUG LIB TYRANNO / QUI FUIT A COMM PROV BELGICAE / CONIUGI DULCISSIMO / AELIA ANDRIA UXOR ET / AELIUS VALERIANUS SOCER / ET RESTITUTUS FECIT COLLIB *The earliest senior clerical <i>a commentariis provinciae</i> to be dated by <i>nomen</i>, possibly as late as M. Aurelius; for the list, see Weaver 249-50; for their functions, see Boulvert (1) 118+ nn.</p>	Rome A C I Rome A D F I

1781	T. Aelius Tyriacus Aug. lib. 6.8777; cf. p.3463 MA BIRRIUS AGATHOPUS / FECIT SIBI ET SUIS ET / LIBERTIS LIBERTAB POSTERISQ EOR / ET T AELIUS TYRIACUS AUG / LIB CUBICUL REFECIT SIBI / ET SUIS LIBERTIS LIBERTA/BUSQ POSTERISQ EORUM *4: 'Cyriacus' <i>CIL</i> , but cf. id. p.3463.	Rome F I
1782	Ulpinus (T. Aeli Aug. lib. Volusiani) lib. 14.3720 See 1793: Aelius Volusianus. **'Ulpinus' is unprecedented as <i>cognomen</i> ?	Tibur : I F G
1783	Aelia Aug. lib. Urbana AE 1949, 69 = La civiltà cattolica 1942, 4. p. 83 D M / AELIAE SATURNINAE VIXIT ANN XXXVI MENS II AELIA AUG LIB URBANA / LIBERTAE KARISSIMAE D M S / AELIAE URBANAES / MATRI KARISSIMAE / TYRANNUS FILIUS	Rome B G H
1784	Aelius Viator Augg. lib. 6.15983 See 1712: Aelius Provincialis, with commentary.	Rome F
1785	T. Aelius Aug (I.) Victor (1) 6.10811 D M / T AELIO AUG / VICTORI / NICEPHOR / [pa]TRONO / [b] M F *3/4: <'lib.'> (?); 'I.' 'errore quadratarii omisso' <i>CIL</i> .	Rome G
1786	T. Aelius Aug. [I. Vic]tor (2) AE 1981, 476 = 1988, 664a; cf. 1983, 448. D[m] / FLAVIAE A[---] / T AELIUS AUG[I vic]/TOR PROC RI[pae / turritana]E / [- - fe]C *4: 'ri[pae]' Sotgiu; 'r[eg(ionis)]' Meloni; see AE 1983, 448. For the term 'ripae Turr(itanae)' associated with the ancient port: Taramelli, NS 1904, p.144 no. 8; cf. AE 1981, 476 n.	Turris Libisonis: Sardinia A I
1787	P. Ael(ius) Aug. I. Victor (3) AE 1932, 85 IOM / P AEL AUG L / VICTOR A / COMM XX / H P H C / EX VOTO *3-5: 'a comm(entariis) (vicesimae) h(ereditatum) p(rovinciae) H(ispaniae) C(terioris)'. Cf. 2.4184 = D 1556, possibly also Hadrianic, <i>Felix a commentariis</i> [2728] and <i>Hilarus tabularius</i> [2795] in the XX <i>hereditatum</i> provincial office at Tarraco, For Hadrian's comprehensive reorganisation of the administration of the important 5% tax on inheritances both at equestrian and freedman-slave levels, in Italy and the provinces, see Pflaum (1) 60f., Boulvert (1) 287ff. + nn.	Tarraco: Hisp. Cit. I L M
1788	Victor (4) Aug. lib. 13.2038 See 1748*: Aelius Silvester.	Lugdunu m: Gallia Lugd. C H M
1789	(Aelius) Victor (5) Augusti lib. 8.8996 D M S / AELIAE MAGNAE / FECIT VICTOR / AUGUSTI LIB. / LIB ET CONIUGI / BENE MERENTI DE SE / QUAE VIXIT ANNIS / XXX MENSES III / DIES XII	Rusuccru u: Maur. Caes. A G H M

1790	<p>(Aelius) Victorinus Aug. lib. 10.1679 P AELIO P F AGRIPPINO / CORNICULARIO PROC PROVINCIAE BELGICAE / FRATRI CARISSIMO / ET AELIAE AMABILI / MATRI PISSIMAE / VICTORINUS AUG LIB / FECIT</p> <p>*RE 1. (Aelius 18). If Victorinus was born a slave, his mother Aelia Amabilis was also an imperial slave at the time of his birth. As his (younger) brother P. Aelius Agrippinus was freeborn and legitimate, both parents were free at the time he was born. It is assumed, therefore, that his unnamed father, P. Aelius ... , was himself an imperial freedman and that Victorinus was likewise a P. Aelius Aug. lib. but not so named to avoid further repetition of the <i>nomen</i> 'Aelius'. It is possible, however, that neither assumption is valid and that Victorinus was manumitted by Antoninus Pius or later.</p>	Puteoli: I C D I
1791	<p>P. Aelius Vitalis (1) Aug .lib. 2.485 = D 1493 D M S / P AELIO VITALI / AUG LIB TABUL / PROVINC LUSITAN/IAE ET VETTONIAE / STEPHANUS LIB / ET HERES PATRO/NO FECIT</p> <p>*4: 'Vettoniae', the territory of the Vettones, a people in the north-east of the province of Lusitania. Vitalis is among the earliest recorded <i>tabularii provinciae</i>; cf. Ulpian Gresianus (1237) and P. Aelius Alexander (1) (1421), also in Lusitania. This reflects Hadrian's comprehensive reorganisation of the administration of taxation in Italy and the provinces; see Pflaum (1) 60f., Boulvert (1) 287ff. + nn. On the senior clerical grade <i>tabularius provinciae</i>: Boulvert (1) 115-17 + nn. 137-152; Weaver 245-8.</p>	Emerita: Lusitania A G I
1792	<p>T. Αἴλιος Σεβ. ἀπέλεύθ. Οὐειτάλιος (2) 3.14180 = IGRR 4.676 = PIR² A 278 [--- / --- / ---] REG LYCIACAE HERES / EIUS CURA AGENTE / CUM LIB EIUS AELIO / SOSIA ET AELIO EPAGA/THO Θ Δ T Αἴλιω Σεβ ἀπέλεύθ Οὐειταλιώ ἀντεπιτρόπω κληρονομιων ἐπαρχείας Λυκίας κληρονόμου αὐτού ἐ[πιμελουντος μετὰ ἔτε]ρων ἀπελευθέρων αὐτού Αἰλίου Σωσία καὶ Αἰλίου [Ἐπαγ]αθού</p> <p>*4: 'heres' = 'herede'; 8: 'Θ(εοι'ς) Δ(αίμοσιν)'. The Latin equivalent for ἀντεπιτρόπω κληρονομιων ἐπαρχείας Λυκίας (10-12) is 'subproc(uratori) XX her(editatum) reg(ionis) Lyciacae'. The freedman is responsible for a regional sector to the equestrian procurator in charge of one of the larger jurisdictions of the <i>vicesima hereditatium</i> tax office found from the time of Hadrian. The title 'vice procuratoris' (as <i>CIL</i> loc. cit.) would imply a freedman official temporarily replacing the equestrian (provincial) procurator.; see Boulvert 114 n. 130, 133ff., esp 134 n.278, with reference to H.-G. Pflaum's (unpublished) <i>Mémoire sur les sous-procurateurs</i>.</p>	Patara, Lycia/Pa mp. F G I
1793	<p>Aelia Vitalis (3) Aug. lib. 8.13124 D M S / SALVIA MON*NU* LA / PIA VIX AN XIII / D M S / AELIA VITALIS AUG / LIB PIA VIXIT AN XXXV / H S E</p> <p>*2: 'Monula' <i>cognomen</i>?</p>	Carthage: Africa F H M
1794	<p>T. Aelius Aug. lib. Volusianus 14.3720 = I.It. IV, 4.1, 260 T AELIO AUG LIB / VOLUSIANO / IULIA AUXESIA / B M ET SATURN/INUS CONL ET ULPIUS / LIB HEREDES MONI/MENTUM F C</p> <p>*5: 'conl(ibertus)'; 'Ulpius' as <i>cognomen</i>?</p>	Tibur: I a F G

1795	<p>P. Aelius Aug. lib. Zeno</p> <p>6.10234 = D 7213; cf. AE 1982, 17 LEX COLLEGI AESCULAPI ET HYGIAE (2) SALVIA C F MARCELLINA OB MEMORIAM FL APOLLONI PROC AUG QUI FUIT A PINACOTHECIS ET CAPITONIS AUG L ADIUTORIS / (3) EIUS MARITI SUI OPTIMI PISSIMI DONUM DEDIT COLLEGIO AESCULAPI ET HYGIAE LOCUM AEDICULAE CUM PERGULA ET SIGNUM MARMOREUM AESCULAPI ET SOLARIUM TECTUM IUNCTUM IN / (4) QUO POPULUS COLLEGI S(upra) S(cripti) EPULETUR.....</p>	Rome AD 153 D F K N Q
	(17) ... ITEM P AELIUS AUG LIB ZENON / (18) EIDEM COLLEGIO S S OB MEMORIAM M ULPI AUG LIB CAPITONIS FRATRIS SUI PISSIMI DEDIT DONAVITQUE HS X M N UTI EX REDITU EIUS SUMMAE IN CONTRI/(19)BUTIONE SPORTULARUM DIVIDERENTUR QUODSI EA PECUNIA OMNIS QUAE S S EST QUAM DEDIT DONAVIT COLLEGIO S S / (20) SALVIA C F MARCELLINA ET P AELIUS AUG LIB ZENO IN ALIOS USUS CONVERTERE VOLUERINT QUAM IN EOS USUS QUI S S S QUOS ORDO COLLEGI N DECREVIT ET UTI /(21) HAEC OMNIA Q S S S SUIS DIEBUS UT ITA FIANT DIVIDANTQUE QUODSI ADVERSUS EA QUID FECERINT SIVE QUID ITA NON FECERINT TUNC QQ VEL CURATO/(22)RES EIUSDEM COLLEGI QUI TUNC ERUNT SI ADVERSUS EA QUID FECERINT QQ ET CURATORES S S UTI POENAE NOMINE ARKAE N INFERANT HS XX M N / (23) HOC DECRETUM ORDINI N PLACUIT IN CONVENTU PLENO QUOD GESTUM EST IN TEMPLO DIVORUM IN AEDE DIVI TITI V ID MART C BRUTTIO PRAE/(24)SENTE A IUNIO RUFINO COS QQ C OFILIO HERMETE CURATORIB P AELIO AUG LIB ONESIMO ET C SALVIO SELEUCO	
	*Regulations governing the gift to the <i>collegium Aesculapi et Hygiae</i> in memory of her imperial freedman husband, M. Ulpius Capito (1160), by the freeborn Salvia Marcellina, and by his imperial freedman brother, P. Aelius Zeno. The latter are twice designated by the unusual honorary titles of 'mater collegi' and 'pater collegi' respectively (ll. 10 –12). Another freedman of Hadrian, P. Aelius Onesimus (1663), together with C. Salvius Seleucus, was <i>curator</i> of the <i>collegium</i> . The inscription is dated to the latter part of the reign of Antoninus Pius, some forty years or more after the manumission of Capito and an unknown period after his death. He was <i>adiutor</i> of Flavius Apollonius, the equestrian <i>procurator a pinothecis</i> , a short-lived post involving the refitting of the imperial art collections, for which J. Beaujeu, CRAI 1982, 671–88, proposes a Hadrianic date; cf. AE 1982, 17.	
1796	<p>P. Aelius Zethus Aug. lib.</p> <p>6.10820 = p 3507 D M / P AELIO / ZETHO / AUG LIB / B M</p>	Rome +
1797	<p>T.Aelius Zosimus (1) conlibertus 6.8518</p> <p>For text, see 1407: T. Aelius Aelianus. Not classed as an <i>Augusti libertus</i> but as one of a number of freedmen of T. Aelius Aelianus. On the meaning of 'conlibertus' in this context, see ibid. n.(2).</p>	Rome F M
1798	<p>(P.) Aelius Zosimus (2) (P.Aeli Aug.lib. Prot) lib. AE 1980 160 See 1711: P. Aelius Protus.</p>	Rome G

1799	<p>Aἰλ(ιος) Ζ[--- Σεβαστων(?)] ἀπελεύθερος <i>I.Eph.</i> 2203a [τοῦτο τὸ μνημεῖον] ἔστιν Αἰλ Ζ[--- Σεβαστων(?)] ἀπελευθέροι[ν καὶ Αὐρηλι]ανη[ς γυναικο[ς καὶ Αἰλ(ου)] Αὐρηλιανο[ν] υ[ιον] καὶ των ἀπελευθέρων ζωσιν *2: Σεβαστω as in <i>I.Eph.</i> 2203; Σεβαστον also possible; 3-4: the wife's name 'Aureliane' is based on that of her son (<i>I.Eph.</i> ed.)</p>	Ephesus: Asia A B
1800	<p>Aelius [-]dius ([L.S]ep. Artemae(?) Aug[g.] lib.) conlibertus 6.9029 See [1881a]: [L.S]ep. Artemae(?) Aug[g.] lib.)</p>	Rome F
1801	<p>T. Aelius [-]r[-]us Aug. lib. 5^s.179 D M / MACIAERII(?)[-] / T AELIUS [-]R[-]US / AUG LIB A COG[---] / [---]MAE *4: 'a cognitionibus'?</p>	Aquileia : X a I
1802	<p>P. Aelius Aug. I[ib. ---] 6.2322 CLAU[dia ---] / CONI[ux fecit] / PLUTIO[---] / PUBL VII VIR E[pulonum et] / P AELIO AUG L[ib ---] / PARENTI ET SUIS [lib libertab] / P Q E *7: 'p(osteris)q(ue) e(orum)'.</p>	Rome B
1803	<p>?T. Aelius A[ug. lib. ---] 6.7015 D[m] / T AELIUS A[---]</p>	Rome +
1804	<p>Aelia Aug. [lib. ---] 6.7327 L VOLU[si---] / MAECE[---] / CO[---] / [--]CIO[---] / AELIA AUG[lib ---] / DULCISSIMA[---] / PRIORI BENE[---] / DAPHNO COI[ugi ---] / DI[---]</p>	Rome A F
1805	<p>P. Aelius Aug. [lib. ---] 6.8448 D M / P AELIO AUG [lib ---] / ADIUT TABUL XX [heredit(atium)] / AELIA EUTAXIA CO[niugi ---] / ET P AELIUS [---] / PATRI P[ientissimo] / ET SIBI [et suis libertis] / LIBERTABUS P[osterisque eorum]</p>	Rome A C I
1806	<p>A[e]li[a](?) [---] ([L. S]ep. Artaemae (?) Aug[g.] lib.) conlibert(a) 6.9029 See [2493a]: L. Sep(timius) Artaemas (?) Augg. lib.</p>	Rome F
1807	<p>P. Aelius Aug. lib.[---] 6.10624 D M / P AELIUS AUG LIB [---] / FECIT SIBI ET DO[---] / DIDYME CONIU[gi --- / ET P AELIO AUG L[ib ---] / ET LIBERTIS LIBER[tabusque] / SUIS POSTERISQ[ue eorum] / HUIC MON DOL[us malus abesto] / HOC MONIM H[eredem exterum] / NON SEQ[uitur]</p>	Rome A b
1808	<p>P. Aelius Aug. I[ib. ---] 6.10624 See 1806 above.</p>	Rome c
1809	<p>P. Aelius Aug. lib.[---] 6.10625 D [m] / P AELIUS AUG LIB [---] / MAMMEIAE MARTI[nae ---] / KARISSIME FECIT ET [---] / POSTER EOR[um]</p>	Rome A

1810	P. Ael(ius) Aug. lib.[--] 6.10626 P AEL AUG LIB [---] / COMPARABIT SIBI ET ULPIAE / CELERINE CONIUG[i] SU[ae] ET / LIB LIBERTABUSQ / POSTERISQUE EORUM	Rome A
1811	T. Aelius Aug. I[ib. ---] 6.10630 D M / T AELIUS AUG L[ib ---] / FECIT AEMILIAE CONIU/GI SUAE CARISSIMAE [---] / ET TV QUI LEGES ET [---] / VALE [---]	Rome A
1812	T. Aelius Aug. libert. (---) 6.20412 M IULIAE CHORAUL / T AELIUS AUG LIBERT / CONIUGI CARISSIMAE / FECIT ET SIBI LIBERTIS SUIS LIBERTAB / POSTERISQ EORUM *1: read '< D > M'; 2-3: <i>cognomen</i> of husband not included.	Rome A
1813	T. Ael(ius) Aug. lib. [---] 6.27233 D M / TERENTIA ELPIS / FEC(it) T AEL AUG LIB / [---] / CONIUGI B M / CUM QUO VIXIT / ANN XXXVI *4: <i>cognomen</i> of husband missing.	Rome A H
1814	P. Aelius Aug. [lib. ---] 6.27348 [--] FECIT / [--t]HEBAIDI / [---]I ET ULPIAE / [---]I P AELIO AUG / [lib ---et fili]S ET NEPOTIBUS / [et libertis liber]TABUSQUE SUIS / [posteriorisque] EORUM	Rome E
1815	T. Ael(ius) Augg. nn. lib.(-) 6.29807 T AEL AUGG NN LIB / EX B S *1: <i>cognomen</i> omitted; 2: 'ex b(alneis) s(...)’ CIL; inscription on statue base incompletely recorded (Charnraine 228 n. 15).	Rome I P
1816	T. Aelius Aug. [lib. ---] 6.33773 = 6.30557.22 D [m] / FECIT ED T[--] / T AELIO AUG [lib ---] / A GUR[a amicorum.] / FEGII AELIA EL[pis con]IUGI SUO [---] / GUM [quo vixit annos] / XXXV S[in querella] / LIBERTI[s libertabus] / POST[erisque eorum] / TIB CL AP[---] / SEB[---] / NU[-] *2: "videtur postea insertus esse" CIL; 4-5: 'a cur[a amicorum] / fecit...'; 7: 'cum'.	Rome A F H I
1817	P. Aelius Au[g. lib. ---] 6.34225 [--]/TISQUE [liber]/TABUSQUE PO[sterisque eorum] / P AELIUS AU[g lib ---] / TUTOR TAT[---] *1-2: '[liber]tisque'? Although the formula 'et libertis libertabusque' is very common and even 'et libertis et libertabusque' occurs, 'libertisque libertabusque' would seem to be totally unused.	Rome I
1818	P. Aelius Aug. [lib. ---] 6.34226 P.AELIUS AUG [lib --- / TURRANIA SP[---] / DULCI[ssim---]	Rome a
1819	T. Ael(ius) Aug. lib. [---] 6.34227a = AE 1973, 86 = P.A. Ferrua, RAL 34, 1973, p.78 [-- monumen]TUM AVITUM VETUSTATE / [consumptu]M T AEL AUG LIB / [---] LLIO ET ACILIA IUSTA / [hered]ES REFECERUNT / [et sibi e]T SUIS ITEM LIB LIBER/[tabusqu]E POSTERISQUE EORUM	Rome F M

1820	P. Aelius Aug. [lib. ---] 6.37921 = AE 1913, 77 D [m] / P AELIUS AUG [lib ---] / ET P AELIUS AU[g lib ---] / FECERUNT [sibi et suis] / LIBERTIS LI[bertabusque] / POSTERIS[que eorum] / ET PHILETO [---]	Rome e F
1821	P. Aelius Au[g. lib. ---] 6.37921 = AE 1913, 77 See 1819: P. Aelius [---] above.	Rome e F
1822	P. Aelius Aug. [lib. ---] 6.37922 D M / P AELIO AUG [lib ---]	Rome +
1823	P. Aelius Aug. [lib. ---] AE 1926, 48 [d]M / [--- a]UG LIB [--- / ---val]ERIAM C[oniugem / ex decreto po]NTIFICUM [--- / --- m]UNIMENTUM [--- / mea pecu]NIA FECI P AELIO AUG / [lib --- q]UONDAM EXERCIT/[atoril cursor]UM ET AELIAE APH/[rodisiae con]IUGI EIUS PARENTIB/[usque eorum et] ALLAEDIAE FELICU/[iae ----]AE ET UTRIUSQUE LIB/[ertis liberta]BUSQUE POSTERISQUE E/[orum et - au]RELIO AUG LIB MESSORI / [--- ceter]I AB HOC MUNIMENTO / [prohibentur ne]QUE LOCUM NEQUE AM[bi/tum neque adit]UM HABENT <i>*7-8: exercitator cursorum, a trainer of couriers, who carried messages short distances between the various departments of the administration. Although they had their own collegia, they were not part of the <i>cursus publicus</i>, the official communication network throughout the empire, and were distinct from the <i>tabellarii</i> whose function was long distance delivery. Cf. N. Purcell, 'Postal service', OCD³ 1233-4 and, in general, H.-G. Pflaum, <i>Essai sur le cursus publicus</i>; for a comprehensive list of the <i>cursores</i>: Boulvert (1) 185 n. 657.</i>	Rome A F I K M
1824	L. Aelius Aug. [lib. ---] <i>Bull. Com.</i> 1903, p.300 D M / L AELIO AUG[lib ---]	Rome +
1825	T. Aelius Aug. lib. [---] <i>Bull. Com.</i> 1883, p. 237 D [m] / T AELIO AUG LIB [---] / A BALNIARIS AU[g] / ACTUS CAM[p?---] / COM[---] <i>* Cf. 1174*: Ulpius Crater. Two <i>magistri a balineis</i>, Flavius Marcianus and Ulpius Iulianus named in 6.8512 (a), are unlikely to be themselves imperial freedmen (see 1174*). For bathroom staff within the context of the imperial domestic establishment: Boulvert (1) 238.</i>	Rome I
1826	[---]nus lib. 10.6000 [--- divi nervae pron]EPOTI / [t hadria]NO ANTONINO / [aug pio po]NT MAX TRIB / [potestate] V COS III / [---]NUS LIB PROC / [---] VSIACAE <i>*On the date of the <i>procurator usiacus</i> and the <i>ratio usiaca</i>, concerned with administration of private estates (ousivai) in Egypt, see Boulvert (1) 225 + n.136.</i>	Minturnae: I AD 142/3 I N
1827	P. Aelius Aug. lib. [-]igr[-]nus 10.7264 AELIAE AUG[e] / CONIUGI / SANCTISSIMAE / P AELIUS AUG LIB / [-]IGR[-]NUS[-] <i>*5: '[N]igr[i]nus?</i>	Partinico: Sicilia A

1828	[---]us Au[g. I]ib. [---] 2.2780 PRO SALUTE / IMP CAES HADRIANI AUG / T COLON CLUNIENSIMUM [---]US AU[g I]IB [---] *3: 't(utelae) colon(orum) Cluniensium' CIL.	Clunia: Hisp. Tarr ac. K N Q
1829	Aelius Aeliorum Augustorum libertus [---] 8.21122 D M / SACRUM / AELIUS / AELIORUM / AUGUSTORUM / LIBERTUS [---] *A unique form, from Africa, in the repetition of the imperial <i>nomen</i> in the status indication ' <i>Aeliorum Augustorum</i> ' which implies a claim to both Hadrian and Antoninus as patrons. The form 'Augustorum' is preferred to 'Augg' for those <i>Augustorum/Augg liberti</i> dated before AD 161. For its implications for this group of inscriptions, see Chantraine 248; for further references on the general question, see 1548*. P. Aelius Felix.	Caesarea : Maur. Caes. M
1830	Aelius Aug. lib.[---] 3.14689 D M / L ACCI ZOSIM[i] / AN XXIII MENS[--- et] / AELI HERMAISC[i ann] / XXX V MENS[---] / AELIUS AUG LIB [---] / PROVINC D[alm] / [a]CCIA AMABILIS [---] *6-7: supply perhaps 'tab(ularius)' CIL.	Salonae: Dalm. A? B? H I
1831	[--- Aug. I]ib. MAMA 4. 55 = Ramsay : R-Power.264a [caesari] N / [t aelio] ANTONINO / [augusto] PIO ET / [domo?] EIUS / [---aug I]IB VERNA PROC *5: 'proc(urator marmororum)', presumably.	Synnada: Asia I N